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LATE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM
ILLINOIS

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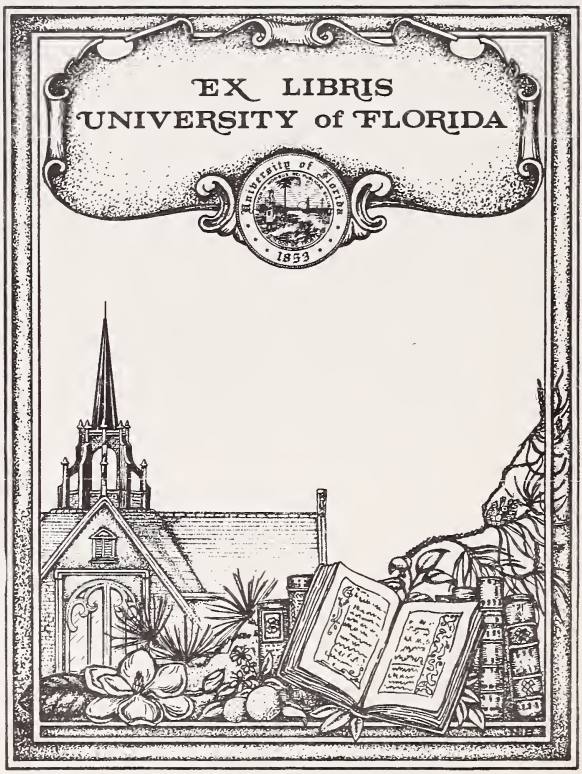
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Memorial Services

Held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, together with tributes presented in eulogy of

William L. Dawson

Late a Representative From Illinois

Ninety-first Congress
Second Session

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1971

Compiled under the direction
of the
Joint Committee on Printing

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Biography

William Levi Dawson was born in Albany, Dougherty County, Ga., April 26, 1886; was of the Negro race; attended the public schools and Kent College of Law, Chicago, Ill.; was graduated from Albany (Ga.) Normal School in 1905, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., in 1909, and Northwestern University Law School, Evanston, Ill.; during World War I served overseas as a first lieutenant with the 365th Infantry, 1917–19; was admitted to the bar in 1920 and commenced practice in Chicago, Ill.; State central committeeman for the First Congressional District of Illinois, 1930–32; alderman for the second ward of Chicago, 1933–39, and Democratic committeeman since 1939; elected as a Democrat to the 78th and to the 13 succeeding Congresses and served from January 3, 1943, until his death November 9, 1970, in Chicago, Ill.; cremated; ashes placed in Columbarium in Griffin Funeral Home, Chicago, Ill.

MEMORIAL SERVICES
FOR
WILLIAM L. DAWSON

Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *November 16, 1970.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, DD., offered the following prayer:

The Lord is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble: and He knoweth them that trust in Him. Nahum 1:7.

Eternal Spirit, returning from our recess of strenuous activity we come to Thee now as we endeavor to complete the tasks which are set before us. When the worry of work done and left undone takes its toll of our human energies help us to tap the spiritual resources which are found in Thee. Do Thou renew our spirits and restore our souls with the joyful assurance that Thou art with us and we are with Thee.

We pray that Thy comforting grace may abide in the hearts of those who grieve over the passing of our beloved colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON. We remember his long and faithful career in Congress marked by firm convictions, rugged honesty, a readiness to cooperate and an earnest desire for liberty for all men. Bless his family with Thy presence and bless us who mourn his departure from these Halls to continue his fine work in the life beyond.

Truly, our Father, life is short. By Thy Spirit may we make the most of it while we can, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to announce to the House the death on November 9 of our colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, of the First District of Illinois.

Congressman DAWSON was chairman of the Committee on Government Operations. He served 14 terms in the House.

It is not my purpose tonight to eulogize our late colleague, but I shall ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 hour on

Tuesday, November 24, and, Mr. Speaker, I shall offer a privileged resolution in connection with the death of our colleague.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1261

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

TUESDAY, *December 1, 1970.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Price) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the mark of a man can be measured in several ways, but none so exacting as the respect he holds among his colleagues. Today, we honor a man who was held in the highest respect by every man and woman who had the privilege of serving with him in the House. I speak of the Honorable WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON, who represented the First District of Illinois from January 1943 until his death on November 9.

Respected by North and South, black and white, young and old, Congressman DAWSON epitomized the strength of character that John Kennedy portrayed in his book "Profiles of Courage." BILL DAWSON, the grandson of a slave, compiled a distinguished academic career as a magna cum laude graduate of Fisk University and a student of law at Kent College and Northwestern University. From 1933 to 1939 he served on the Chicago City Council. In 1942 he was elected to Congress and in 1949 became chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, subsequently renamed the Government Operations Committee in 1952. He also served on the House Committee on the District of Columbia.

A man of character, a man of principle, Bill Dawson was a national figure, not because he was the first black chairman of a major committee; not because President Kennedy offered him the opportunity to become the first black Cabinet Member; and not because he was the first black Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He was a national figure because he put the loyalty of his country foremost in his public career.

Few men in public life have had as distinguished a career as Bill Dawson, in terms of recognition, honors, and tributes. More importantly, few men have attained the place in history Bill Dawson achieved because of his tireless and ofttimes unacknowledged efforts to reconcile democratic rhetoric with reality.

In 1951 when the House was considering the Universal Military Training Act, efforts were made to circumvent President Truman's Executive order desegregating the Armed Forces. Bill Dawson and I worked together to defeat a section of that bill which would have negated the Presidential order. That day, Friday, April 13, 1951, Bill Dawson stood in the well of the House in support of the Price amendment to eliminate that section and delivered one of the most stirring and passionate appeals for racial justice I have ever heard. Those who served in the House at that time will never forget his immortal words:

> Give me the test that you would apply to make anyone a full-fledged American, and by the living God, if it means death itself, I will pay it. But give it to me. Why should this body go on record at a time when we are fighting a world war to brand a section of its citizenry as second class?

Bill Dawson had served his country in World War I. He had taken the test. Although above the draft age he went because, as he said:

> I believed then as I believe now that it was the duty of every citizen when the welfare of the nation in which he claims citizenship is at stake, to rally to the call and to give his life, if need be, for the preservation of that nation.

That is what Bill Dawson worked for all his life, the preservation of the Nation. His outlook was national although he had experienced the bitter fruits of racial injustice. Sustaining a severe war

injury to his left shoulder, BILL DAWSON carried shrapnel in him the rest of his days. As he recounted:

I cannot raise this left arm any higher than the shoulder unless I lift it with the other hand. That would have been a good joint if hospitalization had been available, and I had not been a Negro American.

Few men in this Chamber have given as much of themselves to a nation which at times has denied the rightful place to all our people.

Today, I eulogize BILL DAWSON out of a profound sense of respect and admiration. As a colleague of his, I am deeply saddened by his passing. But I am comforted by the memories I hold of this man who was working for racial justice long before civil rights became a burning issue. This man was a man of vision who believed that there was one America for all its people. Here was a man who literally gave his life in pursuit of the American dream.

To his widow, Mrs. Nellie Dawson; his son, William, and daughter, Barbara Ann, and the other family members, Mrs. Price and I extend our heartfelt sympathies.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the Record, I would like to include a copy of the memorable speech Congressman DAWSON delivered on April 13, 1951. I think my colleagues will agree this represents an article of faith of a man who believed deeply in his country. Also, I would like to include a copy of the program of the funeral service held on Thursday, November 12, 1970, at the Progressive Baptist Church, 3658 South Wentworth, Chicago, Ill. The items follow:

SEGREGATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Chairman, I was born in the South. I lived there all during the days of my young manhood. When World War I broke out I was above the draft age. I did not have to go, but I believed then as I believe now that it was the duty of every citizen, when the welfare of the nation in which he claims citizenship is at stake, to rally to the call and to give his life, if need be, for the preservation of that nation.

I went to war. I was commissioned WILLIAM L. DAWSON, first lieutenant of infantry. I led Americans in battle—black Americans. This mark you see here on my forehead is the result of German mustard gas. This left shoulder of mine is today a slip joint. I cannot raise this left arm any higher than the shoulder unless I lift it with the other hand. That would have been a good joint if hospitalization had been available, and I had not been a Negro

American. I served in a segregated outfit as a citizen trying to save this country.

How long, how long, my conferees and gentlemen from the South, will you divide us Americans on account of color? Give me the test that you would apply to make anyone a full-fledged American, and by the living God, if it means death itself, I will pay it. But, give it to me. Why should this body go on record at a time when we are fighting a world war to brand a section of its citizenry as second class?

I have sat in the well of this House and I have seen you gentlemen from the South, and rightly so, stand up and applaud members of other races, nonwhite races, who were darker than I am. I have seen you applaud them, yet you will take me, a citizen of the United States, of your own flesh and blood, and brand me with second-class citizenship.

If there is one place in America where there should not be segregation, that place is in the armed services, among those who fight for this country. Oh, I know how some of you feel, but there is but one God and there is but one race of men all made in the image of God. I did not make myself black any more than you made yourselves white, and God did not curse me when he made me black any more than he cursed you when he made you white. I would give up this life of mine to preserve this country and every American in it, white or black. Deny to me today, if you will all that American citizenship stands for, I will still fight to preserve our Nation knowing that someday under the Constitution of the United States all of these restrictions will be removed, and that we will move forward before the world as one people, American people, joined in a democracy which shall set the pattern for all the world.

I say to you who claim to love America, in this hour of its stress that the greatest argument the Soviet Union is using among the black peoples of this world to turn them against you is your treatment of me and Americans like me.

No, I do not believe this body means to go off on this tangent, and I believe you who come from the South, if you would look back a little bit, would never, never again take a step to handicap any one of God's children for what they are. I believe that the South is big enough for all of us to live in together in peace and in happiness if we can but have understanding, but we cannot have understanding if you array one against another because of color.

I hope you will vote for the Price amendment.

Obsequies

(William Levi Dawson, 1886–1970. Progressive Baptist Church, Thursday, November 12, 1970—11:00 A.M., 3658 South Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.)

William Levi Dawson was born in Albany, Georgia, April 26, 1886, the second son of Rebecca Kendrick Dawson and Levi Dawson. The young William worked from earliest childhood, helping both mother and father with the younger children.

While still working, now as a waiter on the railroad, Dawson entered Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. Here he participated fully in academic and extra-curricular activities. Captain of the debating and the football team he became a member of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, graduating in 1909 with Baccalaureate degree, Magna Cum Laude.

In 1917, as a volunteer to the Officers Training Program, Dawson was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the 365th Regiment of the 92nd Infantry Division. He carried shrapnel in his body most of his life as a result of wounds received in battle. He was also the victim of a German gas attack.

His experiences on the battlefront caused him to make a pledge to the men who were killed while under his command that his life would be devoted to insuring that their deaths had not been in vain.

In 1933 he was elected to the City Council from the 2nd Ward and on November 3, 1942, William L. Dawson was elected to the United States Congress to represent the First Congressional District. He took his seat in the 78th Congress and has served with great distinction in every Congress since that time.

William L. Dawson was without peer, giving a breadth and dimension to black political leadership that had not been known in American history.

Chairman of the powerful House Committee on Government Operations; Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Vice Chairman of the Democratic Cook County Central Committee and the organizer of the most effective political organization operated by blacks in the history of the United States, Bill Dawson was gifted from his birth, as a leader.

The sincere and effective leader never flaunts the power vested in him. Perhaps it is because he knows that the greatest of power comes as a Divine gift. The event that occurs today is just symbolic

of one's brief passage through this life. Our gifted leader loved the people, and we all know that Divine love always has and always will meet every human need.

Surviving: His widow, Mrs. Nellie Brown Dawson; his son William Levi, and his daughter Barbara Ann, nieces, nephews and a host of other relatives and friends.

ORDER OF SERVICE

Presiding, Reverend Frederick P. Wall.
Processional.
Organ Prelude.
Reading of the Scriptures:
Old Testament, Reverend E. R. Williams.
New Testament, Reverend Paul Turner.
Invocation, Reverend Retha Brown.
Musical Selection, Choir.
Remarks:
Hon. Richard J. Daley.
Hon. Chet Holifield.
Hon. Charles Diggs.
Hon. Edith S. Sampson.
John S. Sengstacke.
Denton J. Brooks, Jr.
Hon. William H. Harvey.
Hon. Fred J. Smith.
William P. Fitzgerald.
Musical Selection, Choir.
Reverend Archibald J. Carey, Jr.
Reverend Trudie Trimm.
Reverend Clarence H. Cobbs.
Acknowledgments.
Solo, Miss Mahalia Jackson.
Eulogy, Reverend Corneal A. Davis.
Closing Prayer, Bishop Louis H. Ford.
Recessional.
Funeral Director in Charge, Ernest A. Griffin.
Maurice G. McIntosh, F.D. and Ethel Dawn Griffin, F.D., Assistant Directors.

ACTIVE PALLBEARERS

Jerry Brown, John H. Grayson, James Harris, Joseph Jefferson, James Kemp, Estanislao Miranda, Sylvester Patterson, and Frank Price.

HONORARY PALLBEARERS

Julian Black, William J. Barnett, Lausayle Brown, Hon. Lewis A. H. Caldwell, Hon. Virgil Calvert, Hon. Kenneth E. Campbell, Hon. James Y. Carter, James Cole, Robert N. Colin, and Hon. George W. Collins.

Dr. Homer Cooper, Hon. James D. Crosson, Hon. P. J. Cullerton, Bertel W. Daigre, Com. Harry Deas, Lawrence P. Davis, Col. Steve G. Davis, Hon. George Dunee, Hon. Wilson Frost, and Truman K. Gibson, Sr.

Truman K. Gibson, Jr., Hon. Quentin Goodwin, Com. Robert Harness, George S. Harris, Hon. Augustus Hawkins, Hon. Claude Holman, Hon. Frank O. Horne, Thomas E. Hunter, Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson, and Hon. Mark Jones.

Dr. Percy Julian, Hon. Sidney A. Jones, Jr., Mr. Theodore A. Jones, Harry F. Kelly, Arthur B. Knight, Hon. Kenneth E. Wilson, Hon. Walter E. Washington, and Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

Dr. T. K. Lawless, Robert Landrum, Lt. Col. Benote Lee, Hon. George Leighton, and Walter Lowe.

Louis Martin, Hon. John McCormack, Hon. Ralph Metcalfe, Robert H. Miller, and Dr. Booker T. McGraw.

William R. Ming, Jr., Clarence Mitchell, Booker T. Money, Daniel Monroe, Leon Motts, Hon. James A. Nabritt, Hugh Osbourne, Hon. James Parsons, Aaron Payne, and Hon. Maurice Pompey.

Albert S. Porter, Moses Profitt, Hon. Joseph Robicheaux, Hon. William H. Robinson, Hon. John Rogers, Hon. William Shannon, Dr. H. Reginald Smith, Dr. Albert Spaulding, and James E. Stamps.

Hon. Earl Strayhorn, Cornelius Swader, Charles Travick, Hon. Harry S. Truman, Earl Square Washington, and Charles Wesley.

SECOND WARD, DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION, OFFICIALS AND CAPTAINS

President, Corneal A. Davis.
Vice President, William P. Fitzgerald.
Organization Secretary, Mrs. Mildred Casey.
Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Albert Graves.
Treasurer, Acting Committeeman, William H. Harvey.
Sergeant at Arms, Sylvester Patterson.
Committeewoman, Mrs. Fred J. Smith.

SECOND WARD REGULAR PRECINCT CAPTAINS

Joseph Turner, Albivory Corley, Sylvester Patterson, Roosevelt Henderson, Bernard Hinton, James Elam, Dorothy Green, Jess Roberson, Fred Fratto, Henry Davis, Oscar Bausley, Leon Albritton, and Robert White.

Bernice Collins, Ernest Wilson, John Battle, Harold Thompson, Earl

Thomas, Ronald Miller, Theresa Boykins, Mary Ann Newman, George Jones, Jr., Wilton Moore, Fred J. Smith, Willie Wells, and Lester Barber.

William R. Harris, Henry Smith, Corneal A. Davis, William Barnett, Chester Henderson, Leon Albritton, Jr., John W. Rogers, Lula Webb, Nellie Jones, Michael Johnson, William Winfrey, Edward Vasser, and Clifford Stark.

Ralph Goren, Edward J. Reed, Mattie Walker, Edison A. Love, Curtis Jones, Melvin Barrett, Edna Clark Taylor, Cortez Taylor, Linda Lewis, Jerry Brown, Robert Crawford, Henry Howard, and Maxine Dogan.

STAFF—COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Christine Davis, James Lanigan, Quin Romney, John Dodson, Elmer Henderson, Herbert Roback, Phil Carlson, Louis Freed, Mrs. Norma Williams, and Lawrence Redmond.

Personal Physician, Ellis D. Johnson, M.D.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, for many years our late beloved friend, Congressman BILL DAWSON, served with great distinction in this body, representing the people of his district, his State, and our country with dedication, courage and with great ability.

Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Price) has well summed up in eloquent words the spirit and the life of BILL DAWSON when he said, "He literally gave his life in pursuit of the American dream."

Congressman BILL DAWSON was one of my dear and valued friends.

It happened that during the Republican-controlled Congress prior to his being elected as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations that I served on the Committee on Government Operations as a member of the Democratic minority. The following Congress, as a result of the action of the people at the polls, the Democratic Party again took control of the House of Representatives. I came back as the majority leader. At that time I was the ranking member on the Democratic side of the Committee on Government Operations. Under the custom and practice—not rule but custom and practice—of the Democratic caucus I would have become chairman of the committee. But, coming back as majority leader that thought never entered my mind. It was a particular source of pleasure to me at that time to step aside so the BILL DAWSON became the

first American Negro to be chairman of a committee in the Congress of the United States.

In addition to stepping aside, I stayed on the committee to serve under him as chairman and with him as chairman and to symbolize for whatever my service on the committee might be, an example for others to follow. In those days the ecumenical spirit was not as strong as it is today. I served on that committee until I was elected Speaker and my service on that committee was not only because of the reasons I stated, but more so because of the deep friendship and the profound respect that I had for Congressman BILL DAWSON, not only as a great American and an outstanding legislator, but as one of the finest human beings that I have ever met.

BILL DAWSON was not only a great man, but a good man. I know of no finer characterization that anyone can give to another, or could give to me, than that I am great and good. And I might say that if I could not be both, and I had the election of one or the other, I would elect being good than great, but BILL DAWSON was both great and good.

His service, when he was in good health, as chairman of the committee, was outstanding. His conduct on bills of his committee on the floor of the House was masterful. He was one of the most eloquent speakers that I ever listened to. And when BILL DAWSON was well and took the floor, the House was given a treat not only in logic, in soundness of expression, but in eloquence of expression, beauty of thought and word.

Those of us who are here today grieve the passing of BILL DAWSON. Those who saw him—and I can see him now—during the years when he was not feeling well, know that he still carried on his duties. He was always on the floor of the House, both during general debate and while the House itself was in session. He set an example for all of the Members to follow, and many of us were inspired by BILL DAWSON, the man, BILL DAWSON, the American, and BILL DAWSON, the legislator.

So, Mr. Speaker, I join with my friend, the gentleman from Illinois, and the other members of the Illinois delegation on both sides of the aisle, in expressing my deep grief at the passing of this great man. His memory, because of the contributions he made while a

Member of this body, will always be a part of the history of the House of Representatives.

I extend to his loved ones my deep sympathy in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I first want to thank the distinguished and beloved dean of the Illinois delegation for giving our colleagues an opportunity to pay tribute to our late and beloved colleague, BILL DAWSON. I want to join in the beautiful sentiments which he and our great Speaker have expressed about this extraordinary man.

Of all the people I have known I have never known a man possessed of a kinder, nobler, sweeter character than BILL DAWSON. He spoke and acted from a depth of conviction and from a reserve of strength acquired by only a few rare human beings. I remember so well when I first came to the House, that BILL usually took his seat where the gentleman from California (Mr. Van Deerlin) is sitting now, and next to him sat Tom O'Brien, also a late beloved colleague of the Illinois delegation; these two men seldom took the floor, but there was more power in their silence than there was in the eloquence in the Chamber of the House of Representatives. These were outstanding men who came to us from the great city of Chicago, both of whom made their memorable records.

BILL DAWSON, too, made his mark in the House and placed his stamp on much landmark legislation. He will be remembered as much for the kind of man he was as for the great things he accomplished, first and foremost, as the gentleman has said, he was an American who was proud to be an American.

In his younger days in some areas of his life BILL DAWSON was made strongly aware of the disadvantages that the people suffered who happened to be of his own color. Yet he never apologized, never excused or resented. He operated out of the highest personal ideals and motives. He had steadfast confidence in himself and his country.

I remember an occasion when I was a young member of the Congressional Democratic Campaign Committee and we were talking about the coming elections. BILL DAWSON got up and made the best speech that was made. He said:

You know there is a lot that unites us in this country and there is a lot we can do to unite America—and this is the way to bring victory to the polls for our party or for any other party.

He expressed that thought much more eloquently than I can remember or repeat, but I offer it as typical of BILL DAWSON's constructive turn of mind. He was always a man of wisdom—always a man of judgment—always a man of common sense—always a legislator devoted to his country and to mankind. He was a distinguished American politician, an eminent committee chairman, elected to office year after year by overwhelming majorities.

His family and his community furnished us one of the finest Representatives of my day and generation. May I through these remarks express to his widow and to his children the deep sympathy that Mrs. Albert and I have for them and the abiding respect and love that we will always have for their late and beloved husband and father.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I feel very privileged to join in paying final tribute to our late colleague, BILL DAWSON.

It was, of course, also my privilege to know him during a large part of his lifetime and to recognize that he had a long, full and successful life. I was privileged, too, when I first came to the House of Representatives in 1962 to be named to the House Committee on Government Operations on which he served as chairman and to enjoy the advantage of his leadership, friendship, and his consideration and cooperation in helping me to make my first years in the House of Representatives interesting, fruitful, and productive.

Also, I want to mention quite personally, and quite frankly, that Congressman BILL DAWSON and I had a very intimate religious affiliation and affinity. I know the depth of the religious and spiritual faith which guided BILL DAWSON in his thought and in his work as well as that of his wife, Nellie.

For all the things he contributed to his community, to his State and to his country and for all of the love which he demonstrated and bestowed on all of us who served with him—for all of his many contributions to his people and to mankind, I want to pay respect, honor, and tribute and join with the gentleman from Illinois in his eulogy which he has expressed so eloquently on behalf of all the Members of the House today.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, with the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the distinguished majority leader and all the other Members who have expressed or will express their deep regret and feeling of loss at the passing of one of the great Members of this House.

I, too, came here a good many years ago when the problems separating us were even more difficult than they seem to be today. I immediately got to know BILL DAWSON. He was a tower of strength. He was a man who sought to unite people and to bring them together, and if there was a gap, to bridge the gap. He did a great deal in promoting race relations all over this country. He frequently came to my city some years ago where he was honored and revered by both the white and the black communities. He would come there and make fine campaign statements on behalf of the Democratic Party. He was a partisan, yes, but he was first an American.

I saw him develop the great Committee on Government Operations. He was a chairman who was willing to assume full responsibility, but at the same time take into his confidence the members of his committee through the operation of a very fine subcommittee. So I join with all the others who have expressed their regret and their sadness at the passing of a great citizen of your distinguished city and a great Member of this body.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, once more the House sits in grief. Time relentlessly takes its toll. Yet seldom is the wound upon this body so deep as that inflicted by the recent passing of our colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON.

We have lost not just a respected and admired friend, but also the singular genius of mind and character which inspired the noble person of BILL DAWSON. Destiny's own man, he reshaped his times. All Americans, whatever their origin, are the better for his work.

We here knew him well as an able, dedicated, Member of the House who acted and voted as a friend of the people in the best tradition of the Democratic Party he proudly served and led. Some of us also were privileged to know him as the chairman of a great standing committee of the House, the Committee on Government Operations.

I have always felt deeply grateful to our late chairman for his confidence, when, early in my service, he designated me as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Donable Property, with oversight of the program through which our Federal surplus property can be donated to schools, hospitals, and civil defense units in all the States. In 1969, Chairman DAWSON appointed me to head the Special Studies Subcommittee, which he himself had chaired in the previous Congress. Part of the work of my present subcommittee is to continue oversight of the donable property program. Chairman DAWSON's sustained support of this special aspect of our committee's work is typical of his devotion to programs aimed at the good of our people at the local level.

BILL DAWSON's service as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations covered nearly 20 years. It was distinguished by fairness, graciousness, and sound judgment. He was a consummate composer of differences, with a keen instinct for the right as well as the possible. His direction of our large and active committee inspired confidence, not controversy.

Fanfare and flamboyance were foreign to him. It was always his desire that the committee speak to the House and to the world through its official reports.

Yet BILL DAWSON's service as a Member of the House and a committee chairman was simply part of a larger service to his fellow men. Service to others was the style and the goal of his life. He never wavered from this, and it kept his great reservoir of moral courage always full.

In fulfillment of his life's goal, he trained and disciplined himself superbly. A soldier and then a lawyer, he sought out positions of responsibility and leadership. He astutely conceived a grand design for carrying his desire to serve to fullest fruition. It was to bring the political process to his people so they might more fairly share in the obligations and benefits of citizenship. In doing so, he also placed himself at their disposal for nearly three decades to meet their needs and espouse their aspirations as their elected representative within the political system.

How well he achieved this grand design is part of modern history and needs no elaboration here. We know that through his help, darkness has lifted from his community and the sunlight of political

participation has penetrated to quicken its citizenry, so long held beneath the shadow of prejudice and indifference.

Among his earthly allegiances, love for his country stood at the pinnacle with love for his people. A compassionate and sensitive man, he would, in reflective moments, speak movingly of his hopes and ideals. The pride he justly felt in his race, he would sometimes express through the voices of the Negro poets of America. Their works were near at hand wherever he was throughout most of his life.

Picture in your minds for a few moments our departed comrade as an officer of the American Expeditionary Force standing in the trenches of France. In his hand he is holding a book of poems. Let us now read, and try to feel with him some of the words of immortal James Weldon Johnson from the poem "Fifty Years":

Fifty Years

Full well I know the hour when hope
    Sinks dead, and round us everywhere
Hangs stifling darkness, and we grope
    With hands uplifted in despair.

Courage! Look out, beyond, and see
    The far horizon's beckoning span!
Faith in your God-known destiny!
    We are a part of some great plan.

Because the tongues of Garrison
    And Phillips now are cold in death,
Think you their work can be undone?
    Or quenched the fires lit by their breath?

Think you that John Brown's spirit stops?
    That Lovejoy was but idly slain?
Or do you think those precious drops
    From Lincoln's heart were shed in vain?

That for which millions prayed and sighed,
    That for which tens of thousands fought,
For which so many freely died,
    God cannot let it come to naught.

Mr. Speaker, may we always remember and be guided by the example of this great American, our beloved colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON.

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with the remarks and the tribute of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Price) about our friend, the late WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who was chairman of the Committee on Government Operations for nearly 18 years. For almost 16 of those years, I served with him as chairman of one of the committee's subcommittees, and came to know him as a personal friend.

BILL DAWSON was the first member of his race to become chairman of a House committee, and he did so at a time when competency and quality had to stand out above racial barriers. That achievement is and will undoubtedly continue to be recorded in our history books. History should also record that BILL DAWSON was a great chairman of a great committee. I am satisfied that he was highly respected by every member of his committee down through the years. He was one whose accomplishments all of us admire and respect.

BILL DAWSON believed strongly that the Government of the United States belongs to the people. He felt that the people are entitled to the best possible performance from those entrusted with the immense power of government and that the people are also entitled to a full accounting of that performance.

Under BILL DAWSON's leadership, the Committee on Government Operations was responsible through the years for saving hundreds of millions of dollars through the elimination of inefficiency, duplication, and waste in Government programs. Even more important, the committee's work has made an invaluable contribution by improving efficiency in the administration of vitally important Federal programs which were enacted by Congress to serve and protect the public.

BILL DAWSON was a stanch Democrat, a one hundred percent one, who served with distinction for many years as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. But he did not let partisan considerations interfere in the work of his committee or in his personal relationships with his colleagues. He was an extremely warmhearted and friendly person, proud of his heritage and very proud to be an

American. He had great faith in the future of his race and his country.

BILL DAWSON was especially proud of his committee and its great accomplishments under his leadership. He was unfailingly considerate, generous and helpful to all those serving under his leadership, Democrats and Republicans alike. I am proud of my service with him and under his leadership. He was also a sympathetic and understanding person and a responsible humanitarian.

BILL DAWSON was one of the outstanding congressional leaders of our time, and he was an eloquent, effective, and responsible spokesman for his people. But he did not limit his concern and his dedication to any one group. Throughout his long and distinguished career, BILL DAWSON unselfishly devoted his efforts to improving public services and to the advancement of all of his fellow citizens.

He was also a man of great courage and conviction. I doubt that many people outside of his congressional district were mindful of the physical adversity under which he labored. And yet, in spite of it, and physical pain he moved about with great vigor and no complaints.

BILL DAWSON has left behind a great legacy and a great record of public service, one which reflects credit not only upon himself and his family, his race and people of the congressional district he so ably represented for so long, but also upon his State and Nation. He will be greatly missed in this body, especially by those of us who served with him on the Government Operations Committee. My deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. Dawson and other members of the Dawson family.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, it was not my privilege to serve on the committee with our late colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, but it was my privilege to know him for a number of years and to count him among my friends. I had a great admiration of BILL DAWSON, as other Members of this body had. I not only respected him—we all respected him—but I also admired him because of his characteristics which have been so ably portrayed this afternoon.

He was a great American. He was an ornament to this House and one whom all the Members who knew him regarded as a great and outstanding Member.

Mr. Speaker, I could add nothing to the fine words that have been said except my own testimony of my own personal friendship and my own sympathy for the members of his family.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Representative WILLIAM DAWSON, of Illinois, has left a glorious record as a longtime Member of the House of Representatives.

Before coming to Washington BILL DAWSON had an enviable record in the city of Chicago. During his esteemed career in the House of Representatives BILL DAWSON became recognized as an outstanding legislator. His superb service culminated as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations.

I was honored to call BILL DAWSON my friend. We in the House have lost not only a friend but an able legislator who contributed much to make America a better place for all.

I extend to his family my deepest condolences. I regret I was not able to attend those services where his many friends paid their final tribute to a great American.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to join with the Honorable Speaker of the House, John W. McCormack, our esteemed majority leader, Carl Albert, and the dean of the Illinois congressional delegation, the Honorable Melvin Price in paying respect to a great American the late and beloved Congressman WILLIAM DAWSON of Illinois.

During my 12 years in this Congress I had the opportunity to observe his great and devoted service to our country. BILL DAWSON was respected by all Members of Congress. His steady, well balanced efforts on behalf of his fellow man earned for him the continued support of the people of his congressional district and he was returned to Congress year after year by a grateful electorate.

BILL DAWSON was a man of courage, determination and with a farsighted view of the problems facing our Nation.

He was a pioneer, he was one of God's great noblemen.

My sympathy goes out to his loved ones at this time of sorrow.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, after the passing of our colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, a lengthy and informative account of his career was written by Mr. Simeon Booker, Washington bureau chief of Jet magazine. The article, entitled: "Nation Mourns Dawson's

Death as Capitol Flag Flies Half-Mast" appears in the November 26, 1970, issue. It describes the many facets of this splendid public servant, our late colleague; and I include portions of it in the Record at this point:

NATION MOURNS DAWSON'S DEATH AS CAPITOL FLAG FLIES HALF-MAST

(By Simeon Booker)

The American flag rippled at half-mast against the steel-gray skies above the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. For the first time, Congress honored one of its own deceased Black Members—84-year-old WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON of Chicago, the House of Representatives' most aged Member and the first Black chairman of a major congressional committee (the House Committee on Government Operations). Representative DAWSON died of pneumonia in Chicago's Veterans Research Hospital.

For 28 years, BILL DAWSON commuted to the nation's capital, first as the House's only Black Member during the pre-civil rights days, then as the first champion of voting rights legislation and a confidante of President Harry S. Truman, and later as an aging warrior heading a committee overseeing the spending of millions of U.S. dollars.

In more than a quarter of a century, DAWSON changed little. He never sought headlines, never held press conferences, never issued information releases and never jumped in the front row of the civil rights movement. "I'm a politician," he told colleagues. "It's not always the people getting headlines who count. Sometimes you get things done quietly because you've got the right contacts and the right kind of political pressure."

The record of what DAWSON did during his long legislative career probably will be limited to what has already been published—his courageous House speech on nondiscrimination in the Armed Services, his early efforts to influence Blacks to vote in the South and, later, his behind-the-scene aid on voting legislation, his toppling of Mayor Martin Kennelly in the Chicago mayor's race in 1955, his refusal of the Postmaster General post in the Administration of the late President John F. Kennedy and his gallant personal battle against the infirmities of age while trying to hold together his powerful South Side operation—the most effective political machine ever put together by a Black or white man. For the last few years, DAWSON was a man rarely seen in public—except at the important functions of his Chicago political organization.

"He was sick but his mind was razor sharp," said an aide. "He was always shrewd. He realized what was happening, and quietly he tried to stave off a complete collapse of the work of a lifetime—his vote-getting machinery." With newspapers speculating about the future of his team—and its ability to elect candidates—in a growing

civil rights-minded community, DAWSON handpicked Congressman-elect Ralph H. Metcalfe as his successor and began to shift responsibilities. For the present, the operation is shipshape—not likely to sink. But one point is clear—no one will wield the power of the man who gave former clerk Richard J. Daley the boost he needed to become Chicago's mayor and the most powerful politician in the Midwest.

The growing number of Black mayors of major cities—except in Chicago where DAWSON's machine became part of a citywide effort—was a political reality DAWSON envisioned years ago. Described as a "master politician," DAWSON believed—and proved it—that Blacks in low-income areas could be mobilized into a hearty vote task force. There were difficulties. Many residents were new arrivals from the South where the balloting was a luxury or a denied opportunity. There was the abnormal degree of vice and corruption. There was the problem of poverty and welfare.

DAWSON's political thrust encompassed these factors with programs specifically designed to woo and encourage these major groupings, from eligibility for welfare to Thanksgiving baskets, from municipal jobs based on ability to rack up votes as a precinct captain to nomination for high office because of loyalty and financial support. DAWSON was an early foe of permissiveness. His discipline was hard and cold. No one contradicted him. None defied him. The penalty was exclusion and sentence as an outcast. Sometimes his actions veered on ruthlessness, but DAWSON felt that it was necessary to "run an efficient organization."

Chicago's South Side was DAWSON's fiefdom—and no one successfully invaded this area for any reason without a personal approval from "The Man." Even the late Nobel Peace Prize winner Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. found his slum program running into trouble because of DAWSON's decree. A friend said that "King couldn't make it in Chicago when his program aroused DAWSON's organization suspicion that it could become a threat to his political survival."

From his Chicago base, DAWSON became an absolute national power during the Truman years, perhaps, the only time he maintained rigid control over national Democrats. As vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he personally approved Blacks for high office, from Judge William Hastie to housing aide Dr. Robert

C. Weaver. President Truman counted on DAWSON for advice, counsel and his ability to "control Blacks."

During this period, DAWSON experienced his first disagreements with civil rights groups and with Harlem's Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who bitterly assailed Mrs. Truman as "the last lady of the land" when she accepted a Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) invitation. The DAR refused to allow Blacks to use its Constitution Hall. DAWSON was outraged at Powell's conduct.

He was never identified with economic or civil rights forces. But always he voted for such measures and quietly lined up support in the corridors. His real strength lay in his ability to negotiate with powerful Southern Members, some committee chairmen. He liked to tell about his early encounters with Dixie lawmakers. He would approach them and say, "Hello." At first his greetings were ignored. Then after a few encounters, the Southerners would speak, then talk to him. Many times, he would trade favors, getting Southerners to absent themselves from the Chamber so as not to oppose legislation. On the other hand, DAWSON was one of the early contributors to civil rights forces in the South. He would contribute money but would ask that no mention be made of his gift.

JFK ALSO OWED DAWSON

The 1960 election of President John F. Kennedy, perhaps, was the turning point in DAWSON's career. DAWSON's help in Chicago voting gave the Kennedy's a big lift. The President-elect wanted to show his thanks. JFK put out the word that DAWSON was being considered for the Postmaster General post, a first (for Blacks) and a key political role.

Finally, DAWSON acknowledged that he "would not give up thousands of votes for a single vote" in turning down the Cabinet post.

The increase in the number of Black Congressmen also diluted DAWSON's power. The Albany, Ga., native who worked his way through Fisk University and the Kent Law School was a hero for a generation that had suffered through segregation and seen DAWSON rise to the occasion.

Attacking the Winstead Amendment which favored segregation in the Armed Forces, Congressman DAWSON's impassioned plea on April 12, 1951, so moved lawmakers that some white Southeners joined in to send the amendment to defeat by a 178 to 126 vote. The excerpted speech:

"How long, how long, my conferees and gentlemen from the South will you divide us Americans on account of color? Give me the test that you would apply to make anyone a full-fledged American, and by the living God, if it means death itself, I will pay it. But, give it to me. Why should this body go on record at a time when we are fighting a world war to brand a section of its citizenry as second class? I have sat in the well of the House and I have seen you gentlemen from the South, and rightly so, applaud members of other races—nonwhite races—who were darker than I am. I have seen you applaud them, yet you will take me, a citizen of the United States, of your own flesh and blood, and brand me with second-class citizenship.

"If there is one place in America where there should not be segregation, that place is in the armed services, among those who fight for this country. Oh, I know how some of you feel; but there is but one God and there is but one race—all made in the image of God. I did not make myself Black any more than you made yourself white, and God did not curse me when He made me Black any more than He cursed you when He made you white. I would give up this life of mine to preserve this country, and every American in it, white or Black. Deny to me today, if you will, all that American citizenship stands for, I will still fight to preserve our nation knowing that some day—under the Constitution of the United States—all of these restrictions will be removed, and that we will move forward before the world as one people—American people—joined in a democracy which shall set the pattern for all the world.

"I say to you who claim to love America, in this hour of its stress, that the greatest argument the Soviet Union is using among the Black peoples of this world—to turn them against you—is your treatment of me, and Americans like me. No, I do not believe this body means to go off on this tangent . . .

WORDS OF WISDOM FROM A MASTER POLITICIAN

On the GOP's 1948 slogan: "It's time for a change," because the Democrats have been in power too long: "How long is too long when a thing is good?"

On his devotion to politics: "Politics with me is a full-time business. It is not a hobby to be worked on in leisure hours, but it's a job—a full-time

job that pays off only if a man is willing to apply the energy, start from scratch and profit by his experiences."

On Blacks voting: "We have the numbers. We are the largest ethnic minority in America today, but we must be made to understand the power of the vote. The unfortunate thing about it is that the Negro, who was forced to come up under a system of slavery, was successfully brainwashed politically. Our right of ballot has been paid for in blood."

On the charge by the opposition that everybody hates him: "Nobody loves me but the people."

On his philosophy of life: "Don't get mad. Get smart!"

On strategy applied through the ballot: "You're getting powerful when you have something they both need. If you have the vote they will make a beaten path to your door."

On tact: "If you learn to handle the men, the right ones—all men for that matter—you can get what you want."

On money and politics: "I never took a penny from anybody. If you take money you become obligated. It puts you in the position of owing a favor. I've done favors for many people . . . So that always placed me in the position of being owed a favor. Those favors add up to votes."

On gambling: "If anybody is to profit out of gambling in the Negro community it should be the Negro. It is purely an economic question. I want the money my people earn to stay in the community."

On being called "Uncle Tom": "How is it that after fighting all my life for the rights of my people, I suddenly awaken in the September of life to find myself being vilified and abused, and those who know me well and what I have stood for are accusing me of being against civil rights . . . Name calling and playing the grandstands is not the way to get things done here on Capitol Hill."

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON, late chairman of the Committee on Government Operations of the House of Representatives, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Representative in Congress, from the First District of Illinois for 28 years and committee chairman for 20 years, was generally recognized as one of the most influential political figures in the United States in recent years. His influence in the highest councils of the Nation was enormous; his strength among the voters in his district and in his home city of Chicago was overwhelming. He dedicated his life to promoting the welfare, the strength and the dignity of his people and of his Nation, both of which he fervently loved. His career reflected his own ability and drive as well as the opportunities afforded by the American tradition.

Born in Albany, Ga., on April 26, 1886, 23 years after President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation and less than 21 years after the 13th amendment abolished slavery in the United States, WILLIAM L. DAWSON was the grandson of a slave. Fortunately, his father Levi Dawson, and his mother, Rebecca, realized the value of a good education and were determined to do all that they could to see that their children received such an education.

Working his way through school, DAWSON attended Albany, Ga., Normal School in 1905 and graduated from Fisk University, magna cum laude in 1909. With 50 cents in his pocket, he arrived in Chicago in 1912, determined to make his way and to continue his education.

In 1915, at the age of 29, he entered Kent College of Law in Chicago. Even though he was over the draft age, he interrupted his studies in 1917 to volunteer for military service. He was sent to Officers' Training School at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, where he was commissioned as a second lieutenant. Subsequently, he was promoted to first lieutenant.

In February 1918, he was assigned to Company E of the 365th Infantry and embarked for France. Immediately landing at Brest the company went to the Vosages Mountains under the command of Colonel Caldwell. After a few weeks of training behind the lines, Lieutenant DAWSON's outfit engaged the Germans in the Meuse-Argonne, Marbach and Pont a Mousson sections.

During the campaign, Congressman DAWSON was gassed and wounded.

Peace declared, the veteran returned to America in 1918 and was honorably discharged in June. He resumed his law studies at Northwestern University and enjoyed the distinction of being admitted to the bar while still a student. He began the practice of law the following year.

In 1922, he met and married Miss Nellie Brown of Washington, D.C., daughter of the late Reverend Father Thomas Brown, then rector of St. Luke's Church in that city. To that union two children were born, William L., Jr., and Barbara Anne.

After having practiced law successfully for several years, Congressman DAWSON entered active politics in 1928 with an unsuccessful race for Congress. He became Republican State central committee-

man for the First Congressional District of Illinois—which is the district he represented. In 1933 he was elected alderman from his ward and held the position until 1939.

During this period of national economic crisis, he came to realize that of the two parties, the policies and programs of the Democratic Party were keyed much more closely to the needs and aspirations of his people. Always a realist, the improvement of the physical well-being of his Negro constituents has constantly been a matter of major concern to the Congressman.

Having decided on the change, he became Democratic committeeman from the Second Ward in 1939, a position he held proudly. In 1942, he ran for Congress and won by less than 3,000 votes. In later elections his margin became overwhelming. In 1966, for example, he received 91,119 votes to his opponent's 34,421.

In 1948, he was elected vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the first Negro to hold this position, and thereafter he was very active in the national affairs of the party and in shaping party policy. He led successful campaigns to register Negro voters and to persuade Negroes to run for office. In 1948 his fund-raising drive among Negroes played a key part in the Truman victory. In 1960, he seconded the nomination of the vice presidential candidate, Lyndon B. Johnson. After the 1960 election, President-elect Kennedy announced that he had offered Congressman DAWSON an appointment as Postmaster General, but that he had decided to remain in the legislative branch of the Government.

In 1949, the House of Representatives chose Congressman DAWSON to be chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments—subsequently the name was changed to Committee on Government Operations. Excluding a 2-year break in 1953–54, he held that chairmanship for 20 years.

Early in the morning of November 9, 1970, our beloved chairman passed away quietly in his sleep at the Veterans' Research Hospital in Chicago. At the age of 84, he had been ill for some time, but thankfully his last days were comfortable and he departed this life in peaceful calm.

A memorial service was held at the Progressive Baptist Church in Chicago on November 12. Many of BILL DAWSON's friends spoke of his achievements and of his character.

I was impressed by the central and unfailing themes that ran through the various remarks. Those were his selfless devotion to his country and to his people; the real genius of his political leadership; and the gentle but firm nature of his character.

BILL DAWSON told his friends: "Don't get mad—get smart." He taught his people in Chicago and throughout the Nation how to use the established political machinery. His efforts as Congressman and as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee paved the way for the thousands of Negro office holders and the millions of Negro voters we have today—and paved the way for the great breakthrough in civil rights which has occurred since the Second World War.

BILL DAWSON taught his friends to love, not to hate. He told them:

> I can hate no man because of his color or his race—and if anyone hates me, well, let him take it up with God, because God made me what I am.

We, his colleagues here in Congress, loved and respected BILL DAWSON as perhaps no other man. In the many years we have known him we never heard him say a harsh or mean word about any other Member; and even more remarkable, we have never heard any Member speak a harsh or mean word about him.

During his 20 years as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations and its predecessor Committee on Expenditures, he led it from a position of relative obscurity to its present status of one of the most important committees of the House. During his chairmanship two major departments were created and many reorganizations were made in the executive branch, including the creation of the present Government of the District of Columbia. All of these were under the Committee's jurisdiction. The Committee also has taken the lead in bringing about improvements in agency auditing and accounting systems, in the availability of Government information, in consumer protection and in the field of intergovernmental relations.

Economy and efficiency were Mr. DAWSON's watchwords—and in the 90th Congress and first session of the 91st, for example, the committee brought out or contributed to saving the taxpayers over $4 billion.

Another of Bill Dawson's characteristics was his generosity toward younger members of the committee. Many times he designated them to chair special subcommittees or inquiries into important matters or to introduce and manage important legislation. He never used the committee for his own benefit or aggrandizement. He devoted his life and his energies to helping others—in his district, in his State, and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I have lost a fine friend and a great colleague. I served with Bill Dawson in Congress and on the Government Operations Committee and its predecessor committee for 28 years. I can say without the slightest doubt that he had the love and respect of every Member I have known. His unfailing consideration and courtesy—and his devotion to his fellow man—had no boundaries of race, religion, or party. He knew that we must all rise or fail together, and he worked to make our Nation a better place for all free men.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the Record one of Mr. Dawson's many profound statements. It was made on April 12, 1951, when he successfully opposed an amendment to the bill extending the draft which would have legalized racial segregation in the armed services:

The 1951 Amendments to the Universal Military Training and Service Act

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 1) to provide for the common defense and security of the United States and to permit the more effective utilization of manpower resources of the United States by authorizing universal military training and service, and for other purposes.

Mr. Dawson. Mr. Chairman, I was born in the South. I lived there all during the days of my young manhood. When World War I broke out I was above the draft age. I did not have to go, but I believed then as I believe now that it was the duty of every citizen, when the welfare of the nation in which he claims citizenship is at stake, to rally to the call and to give his life, if need be, for the preservation of that nation.

I went to war. I was commissioned William L. Dawson, first lieutenant of infantry. I led Americans in battle—black Americans. This mark you see here on my forehead is the result of German mustard gas. This left shoulder of mine is today a slip joint. I cannot raise this left arm any higher than the shoulder unless I lift it with the other hand. That would have been a good joint, if hospitalization would have been available, if I had not been a

Negro American. I served in a segregated outfit as a citizen trying to save this country. How long, how long, my conferees and gentlemen from the South, will you divide us Americans on account of color? Give me the test that you would apply to make anyone a full-fledged American, and by the living God, if it means death itself, I will pay it. But, give it to me. Why should this body go on record at a time when we are fighting a world war to brand a section of its citizenry as second class. I have sat in the well of this House and I have seen you gentlemen from the South, and rightly so, stand up and applaud members of other races, nonwhite races, who were darker than I am. I have seen you applaud them, yet you will take me, a citizen of the United States, of your own flesh and blood, and brand me with second-class citizenship. If there is one place in America where there should not be segregation, that place is in the armed services, among those who fight for this country. Oh, I know how some of you feel, but there is but one God and there is but one race of men all made in the image of God. I did not make myself black any more than you made yourselves white, and God did not curse me when he made me black any more than he cursed you when he made you white. I would give up this life of mine to preserve this country and every American in it, white or black. Deny to me today, if you will, all that American citizenship stands for. I will still fight to preserve our Nation knowing that someday under the Constitution of the United States all of these restrictions will be removed, and that we will move forward before the world as one people, American people, joined in a democracy which shall set the pattern for all the world.

I say to you who claim to love America, in this hour of its stress that the greatest argument the Soviet Union is using among the black peoples of this world to turn them against you is your treatment of me and Americans like me.

No; I do not believe this body means to go off on this tangent, and I believe you who come from the South, if you would look back a little bit, would never, never again take a step to handicap any one of God's children for what they are. I believe that the South is big enough for all of us to live in together in peace and in happiness if we can but have understanding; but we cannot have understanding if you array one against another because of color.

I hope you will vote for the Price amendment.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, 16 years ago, the tower of political strength and experience known as BILL DAWSON came to Detroit at a critical point in the campaign of a young State senator who aspired to become the first Black Congressman from Michigan, and from a district that was 65 percent white. He renewed our confidence and quickened our steps on the road to victory.

As I stand here today, 16 years and 12 black Congressmen later, I am reminded of the countless ways in which he has contributed to

my own personal growth and enlightenment. He has infused my blood with his quiet strength, his vision, his pragmatism and above all, his genuine devotion to improving life for the neglected.

The era covered by his singular service has witnessed some of the most significant developments in the history of black people and BILL DAWSON has been constructively identified with many of its highlights but not always with due credit. Let me list a few: The rise of black political consciousness in the North—the pioneering of black voter education in the South—the recognition of the political rights of women—the importance of forging alliances with other groups for the common good—the decolonization of our Nation's Capital—the desegregation of our Armed Forces—the acceptance of black political talent in appointive positions at all levels—the development of black independence financial responsibility in the political process. These facts should be a source of pride and consolation to his grieving family and friends.

Only a tiny handful of men have influenced the implacable forces of our time. To this small circle of the truly great, BILL DAWSON belongs. Consulted by Presidents, and the respected confidant of other high-ranking officials, vilified by demogogs, resistant to discouragement and disillusionment, he demonstrates to our younger rebels that age and flamboyant style are not necessarily relevant in measuring the quality of leadership, that patience with persistence, discipline with determination, temperance with toughness, and humility with honor also can be useful revolutionary tools.

For these reasons and volumes more, we pay homage to him today. Finally, however, this occasion serves more than the purpose of according "our chairman" the memorial tribute he has earned—for he has already been to the mountaintop. It serves a further purpose—to bequeath me his legacy as the new vice chairman for minorities of the Democratic National Committee, to bequeath to his distinguished successor Ralph Metcalfe his legacy of service to the First Congressional District of Illinois and to bequeath to all of us his fathomless capacity for integrity, dedication, and faith in a system of government which despite its acknowledged imperfections, still remains the standard of the world.

Thank you, BILL. Goodby and God bless you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, all of us are greatly saddened by the death of our friend and colleague, the late Representative WILLIAM L. DAWSON. The oldest Member of Congress, his career reflected a lifetime of service, courage, leadership, and selfless dedication.

When he was first elected in 1942, Representative DAWSON was the only Negro Member of Congress. Later, he became the first Negro to chair a committee in the House of Representatives. But WILLIAM DAWSON earned the respect and admiration of all who knew him first as a fine man and an outstanding Congressman, and only second as a member of a minority group. In 1960 he turned down the chance to become the first Negro member of the Cabinet when President-elect John F. Kennedy asked him to serve as Postmaster General, feeling he could be more effective by remaining in Congress as a committee chairman. I believe this was a superb example of the self-sacrifice and integrity which characterized his political career.

Representative DAWSON's constituents demonstrated their pride and respect for him by returning him to Congress with majorities of over 80 percent in each election. He earned it, not just by his leadership as their Representative but as a leader for all the people of this Nation. His career will stand as a shining model of patriotism and courageous leadership, as an outstanding chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, as a member of the House District Committee, and as vice chairman of the Democratic Party.

I join my colleagues in mourning the tragic loss of this great man and dedicated public servant. He will be sorely missed by those of us who knew him and worked with him, particularly the Illinois delegation, by the constituents he served so ably for so many years, by all the friends and admirers who grieved with his family during the painful months of his last, long illness. To his bereaved widow and children, Mrs. Kluczynski and I extend our heartfelt sympathy and sorrow.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Government Operations, I feel a special sense of loss and sadness today as the House pays richly deserved tribute to the memory of WILLIAM DAWSON. During my years of service under his inspired and gracious leadership, he never once departed from high standards of courtesy and integrity. His chairmanship of our com-

mittee was a model of evenhanded justice and openhanded generosity, especially to the younger members of the committee. Personally, I am of course very grateful to BILL DAWSON for permitting me to bring my concerns over many dehumanizing aspects of modern life into the national arena through the Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy and certainly much of the wide public knowledge of these crucial issues is a direct result of his wisdom and foresight.

But, Mr. Speaker, in a far deeper sense every American has cause to be grateful to the gentleman from Illinois, the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON. He was the first member of his race to assume the chairmanship of a major committee and the distinguished record of the Committee on Government Operations is a living testimony to the reality of the American dream of equality and brotherhood. It is especially relevant at this time of discord and disillusion on the part of so many of our fellow citizens to remember the career of WILLIAM DAWSON and to be instructed by it.

Mr. Speaker, America has lost a noble servant, the House has lost an effective Member, and I have lost a dear friend. BILL DAWSON will be remembered and revered by all who knew him and his courage and inspiration will bring hope to all who follow him in these Chambers.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the recent passing of the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON marks the third time during this 91st Congress that a member of our Illinois delegation has been taken from us. Previously we were all saddened by the death of our colleague, Dan Ronan, and of course, the death of Senator Everett M. Dirksen was a blow not only to our State but to the entire country as well.

Congressman DAWSON was a neighbor of mine in the Rayburn Building for the past 3 years but I had the privilege of knowing him and working with him for many years before that and found him to be a man of strong character, most able, conscientious and hard working—an outstanding man in all respects.

He was certainly not one of the more vocal Members of this body but instead worked very quietly and efficiently for what he believed and for what he considered to be in the best interests of the country. He received his share of criticism from some quarters for his "lowkey"

style of fulfilling his duties as a Member of Congress but BILL DAWSON held no rancor or hatred of those who would criticize—indeed his efforts gave strength to a philosophy expressed in his own words—"to prove with effective leadership that God didn't handicap me by making me black."

What a message there is in those words for that small minority of militant young black men around the country who never seem to miss an opportunity to damn this country and all of its institutions.

To say that we regret his passing is an understatement. Our State of Illinois will miss him greatly. He came from little people. He shared their vicissitudes, their struggle. He overcame his own humble surroundings by maintaining a belief in himself and his cause. The lessons he learned from his humble background carried through later on in life and helped prepare him for the position of leadership in the House of Representatives which he was to achieve.

His life should stand as an example to all of the black youth of our country. His life presents a striking example of the opportunities that await those young people who have the initiative to seek and the fortitude to persevere, no matter the odds and no matter the station in life from which they rise. They should know, as did Congressman DAWSON, that the door is open to those who choose to venture.

BILL worked his way through college and then on to law school. After serving in World War I, where he was wounded, he returned to Chicago, entered politics, and in 1942 was elected to the Congress, remaining in office until his death.

I know that Mrs. Dawson and other surviving relatives and friends take great consolation in the knowledge that their loved one played a very important part during his lifetime of public service in writing the history of our great country.

I shall miss him very much and extend to his family the profound sympathy of Mrs. Michel and myself in their great loss and sorrow.

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, in adding my voice to the many who pay tribute to our distinguished colleague, WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON, I also mourn the loss of an old and valued friend. For almost 14 years I served with him on the Committee on Government Operations. During that entire period he was chairman of the committee and since 1965 I have been the ranking minority member.

From the very beginning I was impressed by the gentle dignity and grace with which he presided over our convocations—a dignity and a grace which I came to realize were but manifestations of an inner faith and strength that freed him from the shackles of doubt and insecurity. He was calm because he felt no need to justify his relevancy. Knowing that there was much to be done, he reached for power only to serve more effectively. Having realized it, he exercised it with such absence of ostentation that the full dimensions of his effectiveness may never be known.

If he appeared to be above the battle, it was because he fought without heeding the wounds. He knew discrimination but there was no evidence of any bitter residue in his heart. He had a keen sense of responsibility not only to his own people, but to the committee, to the Congress, and, indeed to all Americans. While I have observed that he was preeminently loyal to his own commitments, I have also observed that, in the realm of politics, where he served as a member of the majority, that the breadth of his awareness was such that it took into account the minority as well—its point of view, its needs, and its obligations to the people it represents. Mine will always be a proud and warm memory of achievements shared with him.

But it is the personal separation, the absence of a friend, that I shall feel most keenly. Our association was the sum total of many personal encounters, each one invested with dignity, mutual respect, good intentions, and good faith. He always showed my preferences and requests great consideration and fulfilled them when he could. The fairness and kindness he always showed me will never be forgotten and I am sure that I speak for all of the minority members of the committee when I say that the personal component of our relationship with our late chairman has been a cherished experience for us all.

Mr. Speaker, to Mr. DAWSON's widow, Mrs. Nellie Brown Dawson, his son, William Levi, and his daughter, Barbara Ann, I extend my sympathy as one of his many friends who share with them a deep sense of loss.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, by the noblest standards of any age, WILLIAM L. DAWSON truly met the tests of his time. A gallant and

gracious man, he dedicated his life to the service of people—all the people of this Nation, and freedom-loving people everywhere.

For those who had the honor to know him personally, his passing is an even greater loss. He was a delicate blend of power, strength, gentleness, and compassion that brought warmth and encouragement to those about him.

BILL DAWSON was a real fighter, a man of tremendous energies. On many crucial and controversial issues, he worked quietly without the fanfare of personal publicity and often without any credit, but with extreme effectiveness in seeking solutions reflecting the best interests of this Nation.

From the time I entered Congress some 18 years ago, I had the pleasure of serving with him on the Government Operations Committee. His service as chairman of this important committee will stand as a landmark of fairness and understanding to the Members who served with him.

He was my friend. And, I join with others who knew him and with the Nation generally in mourning his death.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with sadness that I join my colleagues in mourning the death of WILLIAM DAWSON.

I had the opportunity to serve on the Government Operations Committee for the past 2 years, and to view firsthand the accomplishments and contributions which can be attributed to WILLIAM DAWSON'S chairmanship of that committee since his being named to the position in 1949. Although the past few years have found him in ill health, the foundation of leadership he established has served as an inspiration for the many important proposals which have been reported by that committee in the 91st Congress.

Although offered a Cabinet post by the late President Kennedy, Mr. DAWSON preferred instead to remain in the House to continue to represent the people of the First District of Illinois. During his 28-year tenure in the Congress, he served his State and Nation well. I admired his forthrightness and integrity in following through on his decision to get the job done, whatever the task may be. This I am sure was due to his long struggle which took him from humble beginnings as the grandson of a slave, to graduating magna cum laude from Fisk University, and the ultimate honor of chairmanship of a powerful House committee.

Bill Dawson will be very much missed by his colleagues, and my heartfelt sympathy is extended to his family in their loss.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to Hon. William L. Dawson.

As a member of the House Government Operations Committee of which he was chairman, I knew of his interest and concern for the problems of water pollution and improvement of the quality of life in all parts of the Nation. He was always anxious to support meaningful efforts which held promise for advance, great or small.

Chairman Dawson had a keen appreciation for economy and efficiency in Government and he inspired and led his committee's examination and exposure of ineffective practices regardless of which party occupies the Executive Office.

His long record of service and the overwhelming majorities by which he was returned term after term testify to the considerable and detailed attention he paid to his constituents and their problems. Yet, he was never parochial in his view of great national problems which came to him for a decision.

He served his country with unusual distinction through his endeavors in this House.

He achieved great heights in his devoted efforts for betterment of his area, his country, and his fellow man.

His wife and family have my sincere sympathy in their great loss.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to honor the memory of our distinguished colleague and committee chairman, William Dawson. His outstanding contributions to our Nation were not confined to more than a quarter century of service in this Chamber; rather, William Dawson's whole life stands forever as a monument to dedication, integrity, and leadership.

This quietly effective man overcame obstacles which would have conquered lesser men. Espousing moderation when others cried for revenge, he once remarked:

> The Negro is the best politician. He has seen and felt too much to be fooled.

From the frontlines of Europe in World War I to the second ward and city council of the great city of Chicago, William Dawson exhibited gifted leadership all too rarely seen in these critical times.

Those members who were privileged to serve on the Government Operations Committee under his chairmanship will particularly miss the benefit of his expertise and counsel. I know how much his leadership has meant to me over the past 16 years as a member of his committee. The simple dignity of this religious man impressed us all. We were lucky to have him with us.

WILLIAM DAWSON became a confidante of Presidents, but never lost the view from the city streets. He was respected in this Chamber as few have been before him for his honesty and courage. We cannot replace him but his example of leadership and achievement will honor his memory by inspiring millions.

Mr. Speaker, I join with our colleagues in mourning the passing of this able man, this trusted friend. And to Congressman DAWSON's family I express my deepest sympathy.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, the passing away of BILL DAWSON is a tremendous loss, not only to the people of the district he so devotedly served, but to the country as a whole. Very few men have contributed so much in their lifetime as to have truly changed our times; but, BILL DAWSON was one such man.

I could mention the many "firsts" that BILL DAWSON achieved in the 28 years that he served in this body, but they are known to us all. In fact, they are really not that important to me because I know that they never really concerned BILL that much. BILL's "first" was being a man. And, that he always was—a good man—a good, strong man. It is sad that more people did not have the opportunity to really get to know BILL DAWSON. For, underneath that quiet facade, was a complex and determined, yet thoughtful man, who constantly strove to move ahead. He worked hard for his people and he served them well.

I am glad that I had the chance to get close to the real BILL DAWSON, to get to know the man, to get to know his hopes and his dreams. I only wish that in carrying on the work of this man, we can be half as dedicated and half as determined as he was. For, if we are, we will accomplish a great deal.

The man's final rites were indeed a tribute to the way he had lived. BILL DAWSON was laid to rest in a ceremony truly fitting of the man. It was humble, yet proud. It was simple, yet powerful. Its participants were from all walks of life, yet all were united by the strength of

friendship. Friendship with a man whose actions had truly defined the meaning of the word. At this service, John H. Sengstacke, editor of the Chicago Daily Defender, delivered a very moving eulogy to his friend, Bill Dawson. I would like to insert his words here, at the end of my remarks, for I feel that they go far toward expressing what a lot of us feel today:

Remarks by John H. Sengstacke

I would rather have remained silent on this sad occasion and mourn quietly the loss of a great and true friend. For sorrows are often better borne in personal silence than in the emotional outburst of the spoken word. But there are duties higher than personal inclinations. And I humbly bow to the requirement of this moment.

This is one of the saddest moments in my life. Congressman Dawson was my friend when I needed one. I shall never forget during my fight for control of the Defender in the early forties when I had to leave the city on a crucial matter, Bill Dawson insisted that I go and agreed to stay in my office all night until I returned the next morning. This he did.

I suppose many of you here could give similar testimony. There is no doubting the fact that as Representative of the First Congressional District, William L. Dawson did more good, more favors for more people than any other man that I know in public life.

He went beyond the boundaries of his constituency, outside the geography of his district and ward to help those who came to him when the burden was too heavy for them to bear alone. It is inspiring to know that politics can produce public servants such as he proved himself to be. I am saying something that most of you already know that William Dawson had a great soul. He served this community beyond appraisal. No one was ever too small, too poor for him to see, to talk with and to help in distress. And though he had reached the pinnacle of power in a job where brickbats usually outnumber thanks, he never lost the common touch. He had the humility of an Old Testament prophet and held steadfastly to those simple yet fundamental Christian virtues of Love, Faith and Charity. He had deep religious convictions which kept him cheerful through stress and storm. He believed that the American people possessed the enduring qualities that transmute darkness into light, despair into hope, sorrow into joy. He did not believe that we are at the bedside of a nation in death agony.

Twenty-eight years is a long time to serve in Congress. But as the shadows lengthened over his years, Dawson's confidence, his hopes and dreams were undimmed. The confidence he had was—that with advancing knowledge, toil will grow less exacting; that fear, hatred, pain and tears may subside.

Allow me this observation: We live in a world that often distorts truth; a world whose memory is inordinately short. Thus, it is that men and women after having rendered their services to humanity and civilization are often quickly forgotten.

Congressman DAWSON's life and work won him a place in American history that will stand for all time.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, BILL DAWSON was never known as an oppressive man; he was never considered overbearing. Recently, his voice was not one of the loudest on the floor of the House. Yet, with the passing of BILL DAWSON, one of the institutions of this body and a dedicated fighter for his people is gone.

Though by today's standards he was not considered a militant, what never should be forgotten is that BILL DAWSON was an outspoken voice in the House when he arrived in Washington as the only black Representative in 1942. In what may have been his finest hours in public life, in 1942, he actively opposed the poll tax and during the Korean war, openly pointed to the necessity of integration in the Armed Forces.

Usually preferring to operate on a personal level, BILL often said that his mission was to win friends for his race and understanding for black grievances. His political philosophy was one geared to enable him to rise within the American political system, for he believed that blacks would pull themselves up in American society only after they became politically powerful. His life exemplified this belief. He was a man who worked within this system of government and rose to be one of the controlling forces in it.

In Chicago, where he easily won reelection to each of his 14 terms, he fought to open more job opportunities for blacks and won more recognition for blacks within the Chicago Democratic Party. The door to his district office was always open to any who needed help—the same people who for years had been disregarded. There are more black judges, legislators, and other officials because of BILL DAWSON's efforts.

To the people in his district and State of Illinois, his loss is a great one, for he was a dedicated public servant who did all he could to solve the most important domestic problem facing us all.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the death of Congressman DAWSON has brought great sadness and a sense of loss to all of us. His colleagues on the Illinois delegation; his constituents, whose loyalty returned him to Congress with 80 percent majorities in each election since the first in 1942; his friends and admirers in Washington and in Illinois; those of us who knew him and worked with him here in

the House of Representatives—all of us will miss him greatly. The passing of someone with whom you have worked and shared the burdens and sense of accomplishment of daily legislative endeavor toward common goals always comes as a tragic shock, and I think this is especially so in the case of our late friend, WILLIAM DAWSON.

BILL's life stands as a stirring testimony to the fulfillment of America's promise to all our citizens, rich and poor, from every race and creed and walk of life. He worked his way through college and law school, never losing sight of his true goal.

He used to say:

> I wanted to prove through effective leadership that God didn't handicap me by making me black.

Few men have held with such dedication to a lifelong purpose. His success is measured in the respect, admiration, loyalty, and affection of all who knew him, and the outstanding contribution he made during his life as a public servant toward community leadership, constructive legislation, and better understanding and communication between the races.

BILL served in the Congress of the United States for 13 terms and was a member of the House District Committee as well as chairman of the powerful Government Operations Committee. During his distinguished career, he had served as Illinois State Central Committeeman, alderman, and committeeman of the second ward, secretary of the Democratic Congressional Committee, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and vice chairman of the Cook County Central Committee.

It is a profound loss to our country when a fine man and an outstanding public servant like WILLIAM DAWSON passes away. But in his lifetime he set an example of devotion to public service and leadership which inspired those around him to finer efforts and others, perhaps, to follow in his path. Our country can truly take pride in the kind of citizenship that he demonstrated, for it was in the tradition that has made this the greatest nation in the world.

We remember BILL as a man of quiet dignity and granite integrity—a man respected and loved by all who knew him. He moved among us as one with whom we could always communicate, even as he championed the cause of the victims of poverty, ignorance, and

injustice. By his example he gave new dignity and fresh hope to millions of our fellow Americans, black and white alike. To some degree our whole Nation and people will remember and take heart from the message of his life.

Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending to his widow, Mrs. Nellie B. Dawson, his daughter, Mrs. Barbara Morgan, and his son, William L. Dawson, Jr., our personal and deepest sympathies on the loss of their beloved husband and father.

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our departed colleague, the late Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON.

WILLIAM DAWSON was an able, articulate, and dedicated public servant. He served this House, the people of Illinois, and the Nation honorably and he will be missed by all of us who knew and worked with him.

WILLIAM DAWSON was a distinguished and capable legislator and a great American. His faith in the ideals upon which this country is based was always evident by his word and deed. We are all appreciative of the fine contribution he made to the development and preservation of America.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join in the tribute we pay to our beloved and distinguished colleague, the late WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who passed away on November 9, 1970.

Our late colleague, who so ably served his Illinois district, and our Nation, made himself admired by all who had the privilege to know him. He was truly a great and good man and one who could very well be a model for his race. Democrats, Republicans, white and black—all acknowledged his ability and dedication to what is best for our Nation. To him, the fact that he was a Negro was merely incidental to that he was a man, an interested citizen, a law-trained professional, a patriot who saw active combat duty as a soldier, a lawgiver, and a genuinely distinguished Member of the Congress of the United States for almost 28 years. At the time of his passing, he was chairman of the important Government Operations Committee of the House of Representatives and a member of the House District Committee.

In recognition of the many talents he possessed and as an acknowledgment of his outstanding ability, President-elect John F. Kennedy asked him to become a member of the Cabinet and fill the Office of Postmaster General in 1960. He, however, declined this tempting offer and decided to forgo that great honor and remain in the Congress, where he felt he could serve his constituents, State, and Nation better. Because of his inate qualities of leadership, he was made vice chairman of the Democratic Party.

To the approximately 18 million, or about 11 percent of our fellow American citizens who are black, I can say they never had a more fit or proper representative of their race to be a Member of the Congress. They have reason to be proud, as we have been, to be privileged to have a true gentleman—the late WILLIAM L. DAWSON to be our beloved colleague.

We shall always remember him and cherish his memory for throughout his career, he maintained that his aim was "to prove with effective leadership that God did not handicap me by making me black." We shall miss him very much.

I join you, Mr. Speaker, and our colleagues in extending our heartfelt sympathy to his grieving family and devoted friends.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in expressing my deep sorrow at the passing of the distinguished chairman of the Government Operations Committee, the Honorable WILLIAM DAWSON. Chairman DAWSON took an unfailing interest in the committee and in all its members, on both sides of the aisle. His courtesy and thoughtfulness to all his colleagues and his close working relationship with the White House over the years will be long remembered by those of us who were privileged to serve with him. Chairman DAWSON's friendly smile brightened many a day, and the constituents he represented so faithfully have lost a staunch friend.

Mrs. Reid joins me in extending our sympathy to Mrs. Dawson and the family.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, throughout his life, WILLIAM DAWSON shunned the easy way. As a young man, he worked as a bellboy in order to attend Fisk University. In 1912, when black Americans rarely considered professional occupations, he was studying law at Chicago-Kent and Northwestern. He served in Europe in World

War I and was wounded. And then, he returned to Chicago to work for the betterment of his community. He began working fulltime for the people in 1939, first as a city committeeman and then, in 1942, as Congressman from the First District of Illinois. Over 30 years of service to the people is an impressive record.

I want to assert that Congressman DAWSON was as true a representative of all his constituents, black and white, and as effective a representative as Congress has to offer.

During his tenure of service, BILL became the first black chairman of a congressional committee. He rejected the opportunity to become the first black Cabinet member, saying that he could be more effective in Congress.

I served closely with BILL DAWSON for years—as a member of the Government Operations Committee under his chairmanship, on the District of Columbia Committee where we both served, and in the full House. Through his years in Congress, BILL fought for his humanitarian ideals—for the abolition of the poll tax, against racially separate facilities, for progressive legislation for the needy all over the United States. He worked relentlessly for improvements of all types in the District of Columbia and throughout the country.

He believed, however, as all true Representatives must, that his first duty was to Chicago—to the people who consistently chose him to represent their views in Washington. He felt that color was neither a barrier nor an aid. He was primarily a Congressman, and a good one.

I will personally miss BILL DAWSON, as I am sure all of my colleagues in the House will. We knew that he would not be with us for the 92d Congress, at his own wish, but such a man would be an asset to the country in any endeavor. My sincerest sympathy is extended especially to his wife, Nellie; his son and daughter; and all of his constituents and friends in Chicago.

BILL was an outstanding Congressman and an even better man, and he will not be forgotten. It was my privilege and honor to have served with him in the Congress.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, with the death of Congressman WILLIAM L. DAWSON the sun sets on a man whose life was highlighted by great personal achievement. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who served 14

terms in Congress, has had many tributes paid him both in life and in death. Adding my voice to these many, I feel that his life stands as an affirmation of the worth of the time-honored American principle of freedom, which permits a man through his own industry to direct his life toward the heights he chooses.

A native Georgian, born in poverty, WILLIAM L. DAWSON rose to a position of leadership in the House of Representatives, and at the time of his death he was one of the most powerful Negro political leaders in the country. WILLIAM L. DAWSON attained prominence through his diligent toil. As a young man he worked as a railroad waiter. Valuing education, he attended Fisk University, graduating magna cum laude.

Although WILLIAM L. DAWSON gained salience within the ranks of the Democratic Party, he began his political career in Chicago in the party of Lincoln. Therefore, I feel it is fitting to pay tribute to our departed colleague by recalling the words of Abraham Lincoln on the death of another great man:

> His labor, his name, his memory and example, are all that is left us—his example, vertifying the great truth, that "he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted" teaching, that to serve one's country with a singleness of purpose, gives assurance of that country's gratitude, secures its best honors, and makes "a dying bed, soft as downy pillows are."

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in mourning the death of my friend, Congressman WILLIAM L. DAWSON. He was an able Congressman, one who carried the respect and affection of every Member of the House. A friend of Presidents, he nevertheless retained his common touch. He was particularly close to Harry S. Truman for whose candidacy in 1948 he traveled the length and breadth of this country. President Truman acknowledged that BILL DAWSON's efforts were a key factor in his victory.

I remember especially his eloquence, his great ability to inspire and move his audiences. There have been many speeches in this House of Representatives by the greatest men of our time, but none was greater nor more meaningful than the one made by Congressman DAWSON in April 1951. He spoke only a few minutes but he shook the House. I described that unforgettable moment in a newsletter I wrote to my constituents at the time. This is what I wrote:

Letter No. 78

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., April 14, 1951.

Dear Friend: For sheer drama and deep emotional impact, there have been few moments in the House of Representatives to compare with that created by the speech made last Wednesday by Congressman William L. Dawson of Chicago. The House had been debating the new Selective Service and UMT bill for over a week and had reached for consideration the provision sponsored by Congressman Winstead, of Mississippi, to give all inductees the right to decide, on the basis of race, in which unit of the armed service they wished to serve. Congressman Melvin Price, of Illinois, had submitted an amendment to strike the Winstead provision from the bill and there had been much debate on it when Dawson asked for recognition and was given the floor. Dawson, who is the first Negro to be chairman of a major legislative committee of the House of Representatives, walked slowly to the microphone and began to speak very gently:

"Mr. Chairman, I was born in the South. I lived there all during the days of my young manhood. When World War I broke out I was above the draft age. I did not have to go, but I believed then as I believe now that it was the duty of every citizen, when the welfare of the nation in which he claims citizenship is at stake, to rally to the call and to give his life, if need be, for the preservation of that nation.

"I went to war. I was commissioned William L. Dawson, first lieutenant of infantry. I led Americans in battle—black Americans. This mark you see here on my forehead is the result of German mustard gas. This left shoulder of mine is today a slip joint. I cannot raise this left arm any higher than the shoulder unless I lift it with the other hand. That would have been a good joint, if hospitalization would have been available, if I had not been a Negro American. I served in a segregated outfit as a citizen trying to save this country. How long, how long, my conferees and gentlemen from the South, will you divide us Americans on account of color? Give me the test that you would apply to make anyone a full-fledged American, and by the living God, if it means death itself, I will pay it. But, give it to me. Why should this body go on record at a time when we are fighting a world war to brand a section of its citizenry as second class?

"I have sat in the well of this House, and I have seen you gentlemen from the South, and rightly so, stand up and applaud members of other races, nonwhite races, who were darker than I am. I have seen you applaud them, yet you will take me, a citizen of the United States, of your own flesh and blood, and brand me with second-class citizenship. If there is one place in America where there should not be segregation, that place is in the armed services, among those who fight for this country. Oh, I know how some of you feel, but there is but one God and there is but one race of men all made in the image of God. I did not make myself black any more than you made yourselves white, and God did not curse me when He made me black

any more than He cursed you when He made you white. I would give up this life of mine to preserve this country and every American in it, white or black. Deny to me today, if you will, all that American citizenship stands for, I will still fight to preserve our Nation knowing that someday under the Constitution of the United States all of these restrictions will be removed, and that we will move forward before the world as one people, American people, joined in a democracy which shall set the pattern for all the world.

"I say to you who claim to love America, in this hour of its stress that the greatest argument the Soviet Union is using among the black peoples of this world to turn them against you is your treatment of me and Americans like me.

"No, I do not believe this body means to go off on this tangent, and I believe you who come from the South, if you would look back a little bit, would never, never again take a step to handicap any one of God's children for what they are. I believe that the South is big enough for all of us to live together in peace and in happiness if we can but have understanding; but we cannot have understanding if you array one against another because of color."

The impression made by the speech was electrifying. Only the representatives from the deep South refused to support the Price amendment and it carried by a large majority.

Sincerely,

SIDNEY R. YATES,
Member of Congress.

Congressman WILLIAM L. DAWSON was a unique individual, possessing many talents and capabilities. He made his mark in Congress and in history, a mark that will not be erased.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, when we rise to pay tribute to a man who has given so much to his country and community, it is indeed difficult to express in detail our feelings.

Sixteen years ago, when I first came to Congress, I found BILL DAWSON to be a real source of strength to me as a freshman Congressman. His direct no-nonsense approach to Government and problems impressed me indelibly. Through the ensuing years, I developed a friendship and admiration for BILL DAWSON which will remain with me all my life.

When I traveled to Chicago for the funeral services for my dear friend, I heard over and over again eulogies from people of all walks of life that made me even more proud to have known and been associated with BILL DAWSON. From precinct workers to Presidents, BILL DAWSON was loved and respected by all who knew him. His service as chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations

was a great indication of how a man can rise from a poverty level in Georgia to become a great national leader.

Although BILL had reached the age of sunset in one's life, his services to his country will be sorely missed and I shall miss him personally.

I want to join my colleagues in the Illinois delegation and other Members of Congress in expressing deepest sympathy to the members of the Dawson family.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, when I came to Congress, 6 years ago, I was assigned to the Government Operations Committee, even though I asked for a different committee assignment. I was disappointed at the time, but my disappointment did not last for long.

From the beginning, I was treated courteously and well by Chairman WILLIAM DAWSON. I was impressed by the dignity of his demeanor and by the efficiency of the staff people with whom he had surrounded himself. I observed that he had an ability to get things done without fanfare and without bruising the feelings of his opposition.

There was a civility, a courtliness, a gentlemanliness about BILL DAWSON which made him an extraordinary man. I extend my condolences to his family. He will be missed in public as well as in private life.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues in paying my respects to the late WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON, who represented the First District of Illinois in the U.S. House of Representatives since 1943.

It was with much sadness that I learned of his passing inasmuch as we were intimate friends, having served together in the Chicago City Council as well as the U.S House of Representatives. We also served together as members of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee for many years and as delegates to the Democratic National Conventions.

Mr. DAWSON compiled an outstanding record in Congress as the chairman for many years of the House Government Operations Committee, one of the most important committees in the House. The city of Chicago, the State of Illinois, and the Nation have suffered a great loss by the death of this great American.

Mrs. Murphy joins me in extending condolences to his family in their hour of grief.

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, while the people of the First District of Illinois have lost an able Representative, the people of the United States have lost an effective leader and statesman.

WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who passed away November 9, began his service to his country during World War I as an officer in the 365th Infantry. His concern for the rights of individuals led him to seek public office and in 1942 he was elected to the House of Representatives, where he served until his death.

I was fortunate to know Congressman DAWSON as a leader in the Democratic Party and as a leader in the House of Representatives. I first met him in the early 1950's when he came to California as the vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. At the time, I was the State chairman of the California Democratic Committee and it was my privilege to introduce Congressman DAWSON to our fine State and to its people. I was impressed by his warmth, his integrity, and his empathy for his fellow man. Coming to Congress in January 1969, I was pleased—but not surprised—to find that his colleagues, who had worked alongside him for many years, held him in such great esteem and respect.

WILLIAM DAWSON was a credit to his country, to the U.S. Congress, and to his family. He will be missed, and his legacy will remain with us for many years.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my fellow Members in paying tribute to the memory of our late colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who served in this body for almost three decades. During these years of war and peace, he rose to a position of leadership as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations.

He represented his city, State, and Nation with great distinction in the Congress of the United States, just as he had previously served his country as a soldier during the First World War. Though he was privileged to participate in the counsels of the mighty, he never lost the common touch.

Mr. Speaker, I had the deepest respect for Congressman DAWSON as an outstanding American and consider it a great privilege to have been able to serve with him in the House of Representatives.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, although there is little more that can be said or that I can add to the comments here today by other Members, I wish to join in the tributes being paid to our late colleague, BILL DAWSON.

He was a man who was thoroughly dedicated to serving his people and was motivated by a totally sincere interest in the welfare of his constituents.

As he neared retirement, BILL DAWSON looked back at a tremendously effective career during which he established a well-deserved reputation for legislative effectiveness and political leadership, but most of all, true service to his fellow man. We who served with him as friends and colleagues appreciated his personality and depth of character.

Unfortunately, BILL DAWSON did not have the opportunity to enjoy retirement but he did live a full and effective life.

Mrs. Derwinski joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his wife, Nellie, their son and daughter.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing sorrow at the death of Representative WILLIAM DAWSON. His passing on November 9 was a sad loss, not only for his family but also for the constituents, community, and country he served so faithfully.

It was my privilege to serve with BILL DAWSON these many years in the House. He was the kind of man whose dedication to his country was of primary concern to him. His untiring service to his district will always be remembered.

Congressman DAWSON was an industrious man, always eager to confront a problem and work tirelessly until it was solved. His work as chairman of the Government Operations Committee stands as a tribute to his able leadership and selfless dedication to this Nation.

Guiding him in all his efforts was the welfare of his constituents, the security of his country, and the happiness of his family. With his passing each of us has lost a friend and an able colleague. We mourn his death and extend our heartfelt sympathies to his family, constituents, and friends.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, the late WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON, was a man whose career in the service of his country was marked by uncommon achievement.

As the Representative from Illinois' First Congressional District, Mr. DAWSON served longer in the House than any other black Representative—28 years.

During his nearly three decades in Washington, Mr. DAWSON rose to the chairmanship of the House Committee on Government Operations, a post he filled for 21 years. He was the first Negro chairman of a major congressional committee.

Mr. DAWSON was born in Albany, Ga., in 1886—the grandson of a slave. He graduated from Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., magna cum laude, in 1909.

After winning a first lieutenant's commission in World War I, Mr. DAWSON entered politics in Chicago, and entered the House at the beginning of the 78th Congress in 1943.

All of us who have served with the late WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON are richer for the experience. His personal kindliness, his dedication, his patriotism I shall always remember.

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to pay tribute to WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON. We shall all sorely miss our former colleague.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I first had the opportunity to meet Mr. DAWSON in my family home in Blanchester, Ohio, where he came for the funeral in 1965 of his good friend and colleague and my father and predecessor in the Congress. Our next meeting was in Washington following my own election to Congress a few months later when I was assigned to the Committee on Government Operations which he chaired.

I learned then that Mr. DAWSON had made the trip to Ohio for his friend's funeral in spite of his own discomfort as a result of ill health but that he did so out of fondness and respect. My predecessor had been the ranking Republican on the Government Operations Committee for much of the time that Mr. DAWSON served as its chairman and they were good friends, respectful adversaries and collaborating colleagues at one and the same time. Together they accomplished

much through that distinguished committee for the good of the American system of government and the taxpayers who support it.

My own service with Mr. DAWSON—and he was always that to me—was a pleasant and rewarding experience. While age and illness had dimmed the strength that had brought the greatness to flower, the ability, the integrity, the graciousness, and the honesty was still there. It was those fine qualities and many others which had won him the respect and affection of colleagues and constituents, advocates, and adversaries, and people of all political persuasions, races, and stations.

His contribution was great in many arenas, but in none more than in the progress of his race in the political and economic processes of our Nation. This leadership and his other fine qualities were the subject of the funeral I was privileged to attend for this outstanding public servant.

He was a Moses who took the rod and led his people out of Egypt. He gave them precept and brought them to the mountain overlooking Canaan. He showed them the way.

In the moving funeral services for our late, beloved colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, one knew in head and heart that the text which the inspired eulogist, Rev. Corneal A. Davis, took from IV Exodus, 17, was the right one. There the Lord said to Moses:

And you shall take in your hand this rod, with which you shall do the signs.

What was this rod in the hand of BILL DAWSON? It was the mighty power and authority of the spirit, governed by a multitude of divine virtues. It can be perceived through the words of those who came that sorrowful November 12 to the Progressive Baptist Church in Chicago and delivered, with their fond farewells, a testimony to his goodness and greatness. Hear a few of these words now:

BILL shall always be remembered in the Halls of Congress, in the City Council, and in our Democratic organization as a great leader. His was a greatness embraced in people. He loved people and he led in the positive constructive program for his people. (Mayor Richard J. Daley)

He blazed a trail for others. He set the tone of his Congressional Committee. With ability, unfailing courtesy, kindness, and nobility of character he had the respect and friendship of every Member. He did not raise his

voice in anger or bitterness and spoke no unkind words toward his colleagues—and this was reciprocated. He was the confidant and friend of Presidents. As the poet said, "He walked with kings, but never lost the common touch." (Chet Holifield, M.C.)

He was a tower of political experience and strength. He brought black political consciousness to the Nation. He had patience with persistence, temperance with toughness, humility with honor. He was imbued with fathomless capacity, integrity, dedication, and faith. It was also a faith in the Government which, despite its imperfections, still remains the standard of the world. (Charles Diggs, Jr., M.C.)

There never was any fanfare. He was unassuming, practical, and realistic. He viewed part of something as better than all of nothing. He opened the door to Negro women. (Judge Edith Simpson)

He had a great soul. He did more good, more favors, for more people than any man I know. It is inspiring that politics could produce public servants like him. He had the humility of an Old Testament prophet and held fast to the fundamental virtues. He had faith. He did not believe we were at the bedside of a Nation in death agony. His life and work won him a place in American history that will stand for all time. (John H. Sengstacke, Publisher, Chicago Daily Defender)

He did not clamor for headlines, but black men can step proudly and speak loudly in the North and in the South because of him. He showed that the system can allow opportunity to all. We have received a new thrust of patriotism for his sake. (Denton Brooks, Jr., Director, Human Resources, Chicago)

He was a Moses in the black political arena. His greatest virtue was his selflessness. He was proud to be black. He dedicated himself to showing the way to get for black people what they were entitled to. He said we must do it through politics. He was an inspiration to the blacks in the South. He was a man of God and believed God put each of us here for a purpose. In the few spare moments he found for himself, it was often the Bible that he took into his hands. Like the hymn he loved, he urged us to "Walk Together, Children, and Don't Get Weary." (William H. Harvey, Cook County Commissioner)

Some may have thought him too retiring and humble. But, once having reached a decision, he would follow through to the end without fear or favor. None surpassed him in the test for true greatness, which is measured by the question: "How does he regard others less fortunate than himself?" What made him great in politics was his readiness to serve. He had brains, ability and a dogged determination. This passed to his precinct captains with his call: "But bring in that precinct." He was the greatest, the fairest political leader this race of mine has yet produced. We would ask of him only this, "Point out the way and then get out of the way." (Fred Jefferson Smith, State Senator)

He had rules. He knew that politics was a business. He said, "If you render service 365 days a year, they'll be with you at the time." "Keep your commitment," he said, "and stick together. There'll be a great camp meeting in the Promised Land." (William P. Fitzgerald, Precinct Captain)

He was an architect who could draft and an engineer who could execute. His head and shoulders were in the clouds, but his feet were implanted on the ground of the people. Even in his last days, he conceived and talked about one more great project. His passing is the close of an era. The world is better for this: That one man covered with scars still strove to reach the unreachable stars. (Reverend Archibald James Carey, Jr.)

In him were honesty, charm, unlimited energy. And great was the loyalty he evoked. (Reverend Trudie Trimm)

A good man's steps are ordered by the Lord. His faith and the healing power of the divine spirit did indeed see him through in time of desperate illness. And so he could say to us all "Keep on keeping on!" (Reverend Clarence H. Cobbs)

He used the ways of God. After a meeting of the political organization, some would say: "I feel like I've been to church." Like Moses, he took the rod. He began to succeed and he called out, in the name of the Lord, "Let my people go." He had a deep religious philosophy. He loved his fellow man. "If any man hates me," he would say, "Let him take it up with the Lord." He set the pace. He got his people on the voter registration books. Yes, he set the pace and today nearly 1,800 black officials hold elected public office. (Reverend Corneal A. Davis)

Let us take the ribbons from the center pews. Let all who are here, the young as well as the old, come and be seated anywhere. In his lifetime all were dignitaries. There was no separation. He gave a heritage to his people. There can be no greater gift, for a race without heritage is a race without hope. (Reverend Frederick P. Walls, Presiding Minister)

And so these words of tribute flowed from the emotions and the intellect of the speakers. Each was powerful and eloquent in his own way. And underscoring it all was the great soul of Miss Mahalia Jackson in the exalted art of her hymn, "You Have To Walk That Lonely Path by Yourself."

To what these people have said let the words of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, whom he loved, be added:

When all is done, and my last word is said,
And ye who loved me murmur, "He is dead,"
Let no one weep for fear that I should know,
And sorrow too that ye should sorrow so.

When all is done, say not my day is o'er,
And that thro' night I seek a dimmer shore:
Say rather that my morn has just begun—
I greet the dawn and not a setting sun,
When all is done.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the passing of our dear colleague from Illinois, Mr. DAWSON is truly a mournful occasion. His record of service and position as chairman of the Government Operations Committee has long been a shining example of dedication to a country that permits all citizens to accede to high office.

As a Representative from a major urban center, he was keenly aware of the problems that faced this country when he first came to this body in the early days of World War II. At that time this Nation was in great turmoil and for the blacks of America that turmoil has yet to cease.

During his long years of service, BILL DAWSON remained a shining light to those who because of the color of their skin were denied certain rights and privileges in some parts of this country.

During the difficult years of legislative battles over the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Act, BILL DAWSON was there to see that equal rights were made available to all. And after passage of this monumental legislation, he was there to see that its provisions were enforced.

Now that racial equality is becoming engrained in the fabric of the Nation, he can rest in peace knowing his years of effort have not been wasted. He will always be remembered as a man who fought not just for the rights of his constituents in the First District of Illinois, but for the rights of all Americans regardless of race, creed, or national origin. May his memory be strong in the hearts of those who have yet to share in the many blessings of this land. May his courage give strength to those who will take up the standard he so valiantly carried.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, our colleague, WILLIAM L. DAWSON, spent close to 30 years in the House of Representatives to prove "with effective leadership that God did not handicap me by making me black." He proved his point, inumerable times and in many ways. For BILL DAWSON was an American, a Congressman, and a Negro in that order. He served all of his constituents all of the time. His passing last week is a loss to not only those of us who were privileged to know and serve with him, but to the countless thousands of people who benefited from his sage counsel and progressive legislative record. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the moving tribute paid Mr. DAWSON by Washington Post writer Ellen Hoffman.

The article follows:

REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM L. DAWSON DIES

(By Ellen Hoffman)

Rep. WILLIAM L. DAWSON (D.-Ill.), who once said he was a "congressman first and a Negro second," died yesterday of pneumonia at Chicago's Veterans Administration Research Hospital. He was the oldest member of Congress.

The 84-year-old congressman was the first Negro to head a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. In recent years, he had become a target of civil rights activists who claimed he placed loyalty to the Democratic Party over his commitment to his race.

House Speaker John W. McCormack, a close personal friend and political ally of Mr. DAWSON, yesterday called the Illinois congressman "one of the most constructive-minded men I have ever met . . . He served people by fighting for the passage of humane and progressive legislation that meant so much to countless millions of Americans.

Mr. DAWSON, who had served in Congress since his election from a predominantly black South Side Chicago ward in 1942, did not run for re-

election this year. At the time of his death, he was chairman of the House Government Operations Committee and a member of the House District Committee.

Mr. DAWSON turned down an offer to become the first Negro member of the Cabinet when President-elect John F. Kennedy asked him to serve as Postmaster General in 1960.

He said he could be more effective if he remained in Congress as a committee chairman. He also was vice chairman of the Democratic Party.

Mr. DAWSON was born in Albany, Ga., where he attended a local teachers college before going on to attend and graduate from Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. He worked as a bell-hop to earn money for college.

After graduating from Fisk, he went to Chicago in 1912 and studied at Chicago-Kent College of Law and the law school of Northwestern University.

In 1917, he joined the Army. He served in Europe during World War I and was wounded.

Returning to Chicago after the war, he began to practice law in 1920. He was not the first Negro congressman from the city. In 1920, a Republican, Oscar De Priest, was elected to Congress.

Mr. DAWSON became active in the Republican Party in the early 1930s. However, he switched to the Democrats in 1939 when then-mayor Ed Kelley named him committeeman from the city's second ward.

In 1942, he was nominated and won the election for congressman on the Democratic ticket.

One of his first legislative actions as a congressman was to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee in support of a bill that would have abolished the poll tax.

He was the only Negro in Congress at the time, and a number of his colleagues were white supremacists. "I've got a job to do, and I don't want to be distracted from it," he replied to critics who charged that he submitted too easily to Jim Crow laws.

When Mr. DAWSON was named chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures after the 1948 elections, he had only attended two meetings of the committee. He spent most of his time in his Chicago office.

Along with Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) he voted in 1951 against a bill that would have created a veterans hospital for blacks in Virginia.

But he and Powell, for some time the only other black congressman, later clashed over the question of how to push for expansion of civil rights.

On one occasion, Powell charged that DAWSON and Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley were denying antipoverty funds to a militant black group called The Woodlawn Organization because they feared the money would be used to organize political opposition.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attacked Mr. DAWSON for what they called his "silence, compromise and meaningless moderation" on issues including a bill Powell spon-

sored in 1956 to cut off federal aid to states with segregated school systems.

But throughout his career, Mr. DAWSON maintained that his aim was "to prove with effective leadership that God didn't handicap me by making me black."

In his 1966 campaign for the House, Mr. DAWSON was challenged by a young black Republican named David Reed. Reed argued in his campaign that Mr. DAWSON did not bring relief to the poor black residents of Chicago's South Side.

Although Mr. DAWSON did not receive the approximately 80 per cent majority that he tallied in earlier elections, he won in a vote of 91,000 to 34,000.

A member of the House District Committee since 1958, he went on the record as an opponent of freeway expansion in Washington.

Mr. DAWSON had been ill for a long time and had not been seen much in Congress recently.

He is survived by his wife, Nellie B.; a son, William L., Jr., and a daughter, Barbara Morgan, all of Chicago.

ADDRESS BY HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in expressing my deep sorrow in the passing of a gentleman and friend, WILLIAM L. DAWSON.

BILL DAWSON was a distinguished and respected Member of this body, serving well his Nation, his city, and his State over the years. For nearly 18 years he capably chaired the Committee on Government Operations, the first member of his race to become chairman of a House committee.

A college graduate with honors, BILL DAWSON first was elected to Congress in 1942 early in World War II—and rapidly gained the esteem and respect of his colleagues.

His love was this House—he turned down an offer by the late President John F. Kennedy to become the first member of his race to be named to a President's Cabinet. He also had the distinction of being the first of his race to become vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Bill Dawson was a man of vision—one who saw and believed that there is one America for all its people.

He was a forceful advocate, as senior Members of this House can well attest. He was conscientious in his devotion to duty in the House, even in his later days when his health was failing. It was his own decision to retire at the end of this Congress because of his health.

Mr. Speaker, Bill Dawson will not be with us in these waning days of the 91st Congress, but his memory lingers on in our hearts.

My sincere sympathy goes out to his widow and his family in their great loss.

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE W. COLLINS

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in expressing my sympathy in the passing of the late Congressman William L. Dawson.

It has been my good fortune to observe Mr. Dawson's distinguished political career for many years. First, as an observer, later, as an acquaintance, and a friend.

He exemplified a man of great courage, wisdom, compassion, and understanding of his fellow man. Among his many contributions to the people of America was his organizing a voter registration drive throughout the South, which in turn brought about the election of many black people.

Being an ardent worker in his district, he implemented many community programs such as religious, civic, recreation, and so forth, because his philosophy was that a public official should participate in all positive endeavors in community life.

Being the senior statesman that he was, I have borrowed from Mr. Dawson's book of practical politics many times. His warm personality won the love of many people. One of his famous sayings in which he will always be remembered by is "Don't get mad, get smart."

He will be sorrily missed in behalf of all the people of the Sixth Congressional District which I have the honor to represent.

My wife, Mrs. Collins, my son, Kevin, and I extend our deepest sympathy to the bereaved family. The name of WILLIAM L. DAWSON will live on in the minds and hearts of the people forever.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman of Illinois for providing this opportunity for us to join in tribute to the memory of a great Illinoisan and a great American, the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, Representative in Congress for more than a quarter of a century from the First District of Illinois.

When BILL DAWSON first came to Congress he was the only black Member of this body. With rare political acumen, he quietly and effectively worked to improve the status of black people not only in his own district on Chicago's teeming South Side but also throughout the United States.

BILL DAWSON did more to assure passage of civil rights legislation than some of those who got the publicity for it. That was the way he worked. He was interested only in getting the job done. He cared little if others captured the headlines.

It should be emphasized, however, that BILL DAWSON will not be remembered solely for his dedication to the cause of racial justice. He also will go down in the annals of the House of Representatives as one of the great committee chairmen of our time. For almost 20 years he presided with wisdom and skill over the deliberations of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department. Although I never served on that committee, my friends on both sides of the aisle who were privileged to serve under BILL DAWSON's leadership have always spoken well of his qualities of judgment and his fairness.

With BILL DAWSON's passing, I believe that we, and those who follow us, can draw inspiration from his great career. Mrs. Springer and I extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, I served in Congress as a member of the Government Operations Committee, which was chaired by the late WILLIAM DAWSON. He was a good and kindly man, who loved the Congress and the committee which he headed. Although he was not a member of the party to which I belong, I found that he would put the interest of our country above that of party in matters affecting the public good. His service in Congress was a credit to our Nation and we will miss him.

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with my colleagues in paying special tribute to our esteemed friend and distinguished colleague, the late WILLIAM L. DAWSON, who passed away on November 9. He was a warm and genuine human being who spent much of his life in the service of his fellow man and his country. Few who have come to Congress have been privileged to enjoy the degree of respect and appreciation which was accorded to Congressman DAWSON by Members on both sides of the aisle, and few in public life have been so highly regarded by people of all walks of life.

As we pause to honor the memory of the gentleman who so ably represented the First Congressional District of Illinois for 28 years in this Chamber, it is well to recall the accomplishments of this very able legislator, for they were many and the caliber of his accomplishments was outstanding.

Representative DAWSON was chairman of the Government Operations Committee. His contribution to this important committee's work was outstanding, and of an enduring quality which will not be forgotten. He served with exceptional dedication as a member of the House District Committee.

I was proud to enjoy his friendship through the many years which we spent here together. It is highly appropriate that we now honor his memory and I join my colleagues in extending deepest sympathy to Congressman DAWSON's family and in assuring them he will long remain in our thoughts and prayers.

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

Mr. Speaker, it is with fondness and great respect that I join with my colleagues in the Congress in paying tribute to the late WILLIAM L. DAWSON. Congressman DAWSON presided over the House Government Operations Committee as its chairman for almost 20 years. I feel particularly privileged in having had the opportunity of working with this distinguished public servant on that committee.

WILLIAM DAWSON's long career in the U.S. House of Representatives was marked by dedicated work and able leadership on behalf of his country as well as his own constituents from the First District of Illinois. He will also be remembered well for his commendable and untiring efforts on behalf of our Nation's black citizens.

The Congress and the Nation has felt a great loss with the passing of WILLIAM DAWSON, but he shall long be remembered in our thoughts and prayers.

ADDRESS BY HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, it was with great regret that it was not possible to be present on the floor Tuesday evening, December 1, to participate in the eulogy of our departed colleague, Congressman BILL DAWSON.

In my years here as a fellow Member, I regarded him first as my friend, then as a counselor upon whom I could always depend for

good advice, and finally as the distinguished Chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, on which it is my privilege to serve as a member.

Mr. Speaker, our late colleague was respected not only by those from the area in which he lived, but by the entire country. He was respected not only by his black colleagues but by every one of his white colleagues. The reason he enjoyed such great respect was that he served the people of his district, his State and his country from 1943 until he departed this life on November 9, 1970, with dedication and outstanding ability. He was honored to become the first man of his race to be chairman of a major committee of the House of Representatives. He was offered the post of a Cabinet Member by President Kennedy. At one time he was the vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He had a distinguished and enviable public career. Few men have received the honors and tributes that were his.

One of the greatest privileges of my time here in Congress was to serve as a member of the House Government Operations Committee headed by our late colleague as chairman. He was a good chairman. He was a fair chairman. In our meetings of the full committee, everyone who asked to be recognized was certain to be given the privilege of recognition without being gavelled down, overlooked or ignored as sometimes happens here on Capitol Hill.

One of the greatest experiences in my time here in Congress has been those instances in which I sat beside him on the floor of the House to engage in leisurely conversation. We talked of some of the happenings when he first became a Member and also some of the trials and tribulations of his early years as a political leader in the city of Chicago. I learned then that he was one who was not afraid to be called a politician. He regarded politics not as a hobby to be worked on in leisure hours, but a full time job in which if one is to become successful, he must be willing to apply all of his energies every day of the year.

Some of the words of wisdom that I learned in my conversations with him included the admonition that it never paid to get mad no matter how impatient and how irritated one may become. Instead, he argued that the way to get what you want was not through loss of temper but a constant application of tact.

Mr. DAWSON's conduct of his life proved that what he said in our conversations as we sat together on the floor, he meant. He practiced the principles he said he believed in. He was not a flamboyant person. He was a gracious man and even appeared to be retiring. But as a former soldier and later as a lawyer, he proved he was not afraid to fight. I am convinced he understood well the legislative process and the fact that it is the art of the possible. While he never ran from a fight, he was a resolver of differences between colleagues. He believed that all of the reports issued by his House Committee on Government Operations should reflect moderation rather than any possible suggestion of extremism.

In my own mind I am convinced that the House Committee on Government Operations under the leadership of our late Chairman BILL DAWSON has been responsible for the saving of millions of dollars through the elimination of inefficiency, duplication, and waste in Government programs. It was a high honor for me to be a member of that committee under his leadership.

BILL DAWSON leaves behind a great legacy. He will be greatly missed in this body. He is gone, but because of the contributions he made while a Member of this body, he will always retain a prominent place in the history of the House of Representatives. My sympathy goes to Mrs. Dawson and the members of the Dawson family.

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Speaker, we mourn the passing of a great American, our dear friend and long-time colleague, WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON of Illinois.

Congressman DAWSON's long and brilliant career of public service is of historic proportions. He was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1942, at that time the only Negro serving in this great body. He was the first Negro chairman of a major congressional committee—the Committee on Government Operations—in which capacity he has served so ably over the years.

Bill Dawson was born in April 1886, in Albany, Ga. He attended public schools and was graduated from Albany Normal School in 1905 and from Fisk University in 1909. During World War I, he served overseas as a first lieutenant with the 365th Infantry with distinction, and was gassed and wounded. Having moved to Chicago prior to the war, he attended Kent College of Law and was graduated from Northwestern University Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1920 and began the practice of law in Chicago. During the 1930's Bill Dawson was elected as an alderman and became one of Chicago's outstanding political leaders before his subsequent election to Congress.

Mr. Speaker, Bill Dawson was an effective legislator and responsible spokesman for his constituency and for Negro Americans throughout the country. He helped create more job opportunities for Negroes, he fought against unjust racial discrimination in employment, housing, and access to public facilities. He pioneered the initial fights for repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. He sparked the fight for integration of our Armed Forces.

Bill Dawson did not seek headlines nor did he seek personal glory for his many legislative accomplishments. Quietly, efficiently, and using his great personal persuasion, he was able to make highly significant contributions for the well-being of all Americans—regardless of their color, economic position, or other superficial considerations.

Mr. Speaker, we will all miss our friend in the difficult times ahead. We can all take a lesson from the dedicated example he has set for service in this body.

I extend to his widow, Nellie, his son, William, Jr., and his daughter, Barbara, my heartfelt sympathy for their loss—which is ours and the Nation's as well.

ADDRESS BY HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Speaker, recently this House of Representatives suffered an irreplaceable loss. Bill Dawson, a Member of this body for almost

three decades, has bequeathed to all of us the strength and conviction of a man of principle who enjoyed his career as Representative of Illinois' First District.

BILL DAWSON arrived in Washington as a freshman Congressman in 1943, at the height of hostilities in World War II. He set to work quietly and effectively to make his service to the people of his district, his State, and his Nation an example to his colleagues.

He was a friend of five American Presidents.

As one of the principal architects of civil rights legislation enacted by Congress in the past 20 years, his name is revered by all those who know the depth of his integrity and commitment to equal opportunity for all Americans. He was not one to make speeches, but often I noticed how Congressmen from both sides of the aisle would seek him out quietly as he sat on the floor, asking his advice on a particular piece of legislation.

BILL DAWSON was without question one of the greatest forces for social progress in this century. Many today eagerly claim credit for ideas that were his, for legislation that he initiated, and for the hard work that resulted in the significant laws of our time.

We will miss his quiet friendship, his honor, his belief in the possible. He was a wise man who carried his years and his seniority with patience and gentle humor. This House of Representatives has lost a giant and each of us has lost a good and remarkable friend.

Contemporary chroniclers were unable to comprehend the enormity of BILL DAWSON's contribution to his fellow man. We shall leave to historians of the future the task of placing into proper perspective the work of the giant in man's struggle for freedom, equality, and dignity. Mrs. Pucinski joins me in expressing our condolences to the family of WILLIAM DAWSON. May he rest in peace.

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

Mr. Speaker, for a period of 27 years in the House of Representatives the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON represented the people of

the First Congressional District of Illinois and the hopes of millions of other Americans.

The grandson of a slave, BILL DAWSON compiled an outstanding record in college and law school and served 6 years on the Chicago City Council. When he came to Congress in 1943 he was already very much aware of the horrendous problems facing urban communities. In the House of Representatives BILL DAWSON won friendship and respect and became a nationally known figure—not because he was the first black man to be made chairman of a major House committee but because of his beliefs, integrity, and determination to make America a better place for all Americans. He was a fighter for racial justice and equality long before those issues became popular. He knew from firsthand, bitter experiences what prejudice meant. BILL DAWSON served his country his whole life; in the Army, in his community, and in the House of Representatives. The House is a better place for his long presence. We owe him much. And we will miss him. To his wife, daughter, and son and family I offer my deepest sympathy in their great loss.

ADDRESS BY HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

Mr. Speaker, the late WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON was one of the most able and respected Members of this body. He was elected to the 78th and succeeding Congresses. His tenure covered nearly 28 years of distinguished service.

BILL DAWSON's successful career should be an inspiration for all to emulate. Born in the State of Georgia, he graduated from Albany, Ga., normal school, and Fisk University in Nashville. Later he graduated from Northwestern University Law School. He was a first lieutenant during World War I, and saw service in Europe.

Returning to Chicago he practiced law, served as a city alderman, before being elected to the Congress.

Mr. DAWSON came to Congress when I did. I observed him through the years. He always played the role of a gentleman, attentive to any who had occasion to deal with him, and exercised constructive influence.

I extend to Mrs. Dawson and other members of the family my deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

PROCEEDINGS
IN THE
UNITED STATES SENATE

Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *November 17, 1970.*

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on House Resolution 1261.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Bellmon). The Chair lays before the Senate House Resolution 1261, which will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from Illinois (Mr. Percy), I submit a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 483

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Honorable WILLIAM L. DAWSON, late a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution is considered and unanimously agreed to.

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